

# Socialization of infants and children in Roman Britain

An analysis of burial customs with special focus on the Lankhills cemetery

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# Contents

Contents.....	2
Acknowledgements .....	4
List of Figures .....	5
Introduction .....	6
Roman Britain .....	8
The invasions of Caesar and Claudius .....	8
Further conquest and frontier movement .....	11
The end of Roman rule in Britain.....	12
Roman burial customs .....	13
From cremation to inhumation burials .....	13
Graves and cemeteries.....	15
Previous Research .....	16
Early archaeological excavations of Roman burials .....	16
Twentieth century excavations.....	17
The study of gender and childhood .....	19
Method and theory .....	20
Problem to be addressed.....	20
To identify children through the archaeological material .....	21
The theory of socialization .....	22
The material.....	24
The Lankhills cemetery in Winchester.....	24
Differentiation in mortuary practice.....	26
Burials of infants and children .....	28
<i>Mors Immatura</i> .....	32
Epitaphs to infants and children .....	35
Socialization of Roman children in Britain.....	37
Grave furniture at Lankhills .....	40
Graves of neonatals and infants in age group 1.....	41
Graves of infants in age group 2 .....	42
Graves of children in age group 3 .....	44

Graves of children in age group 4 .....	53
Burials of older children and sub-adults in age group 5.....	57
The death of young virgins.....	62
Analysis .....	66
Concluding comments .....	77
References .....	80
Appendix: Catalogue of the graves at Lankhills used in the study.....	90

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## List of Figures

Illustrations without specification of source are photographs taken by the present author.

*Fig. 1.* Map of Roman Britian (Frere 1967:1).

*Fig. 2.* The Lankhills cemetery (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992:217).

*Fig. 3.* The Romano-British cemeteries around Winchester (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992:212).

*Fig. 4.* An infant's grave from Verulam Hills Field, St. Albans.

*Fig. 5.* Glass jug with ribbed handle in grave 333 (Clarke 1979:212).

*Fig. 6.* Reconstructed hobnailed shoes, on display at the Museum of London.

*Fig. 7.* Glass counters, ivory die, and glass piece from grave 51. On display at Winchester Museum.

## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the graves of infants and children in the north-western part of the Roman Empire to see if there is any connection between biological age and stages in the socialization process, and burial customs. Burial customs for children and infants are often different from adults' burial customs, as children and infants are often buried in ways that are different from those of adults, in form, furnishing, or location. These finds can be interpreted as indicators of the beliefs of what the society thought necessary for the afterlife, and variations in burial forms and grave furniture can be seen as reflections of the individual's place in the society. With this investigation, I intend to study the grave furniture, as well as the form and location of infants' and children's burials in an attempt to distinguish different social age categories in the Roman society in Britain, and to see if these age categories are represented by certain types of grave furniture, such as pottery, personal ornaments, coins, or hobnails.

The study is based on literature of excavated burials from Roman Britain; mainly inhumation burials, as a large amount of information is lost in cremations. The best documented excavation of a cemetery with a high number of inhumation burials with a wide age span is the fourth century Lankhills cemetery in Winchester, excavated by Giles Clarke. This cemetery has been used a number of times in different studies, and will be the main factor in this study. Other cemeteries and graves from the Roman era will be used to compare and contrast the burials at Lankhills to get a broader view of possible age differentiation in burials in Britain throughout the Roman era. The Lankhills burials also had a high proportion of grave furnishing that will be studied in relation to the age of the individual buried, to see if the furniture is associated with age, and if so, at what age the different thresholds become visible in the graves.

Classical texts and epitaphs will make a vague background to which the archaeological material will be compared, as these two sources do not always tell the same tale. Many Classical writers state that parents should avoid grieving when an infant died for which high infant mortality may well have been the reason. These texts and the low number of infant graves in cemeteries have, especially in the past, led to the notion that the ancients did not care when their children died. Numeral pregnancies and infant deaths might have prevented the parents from becoming emotionally attached to their child until a certain age, when the

chance of survival was more certain, to avoid psychological stress. This is one of the thresholds that might be seen in the archaeological material. In many cultures, the infant was not regarded as a full member of society, and was therefore treated differently from adults and older children in both life and death. Archaeological excavations of burials often uncover grave furniture as well as details of the burials such as grave depth and pit corners. These finds can be interpreted as indicators of the individual's social status, horizontal differentiation, and the construction of diversity between age groups. If the Romans viewed childhood as a series of stages in the socialization process, or just one specific part of life that occurred before adulthood, this might have been mirrored in the burial customs.

Up until the end of the 1980s, very little work had been done on the archaeology of children. Children, like women, were part of the past societies, but were for a long time thought of as passive beings of little interest to the (often) male archaeologists. With works of, among others, Grete Lillehammer (1989, 2000), Suzanne Dixon (1992), and Joanna Sofaer Derevenski (1994, 1997, 2000), children and childhood have become important areas of study. Jane Eva Baxter (2005a) has developed methodological and theoretical approaches for how to recognize and study children and childhood through the archaeological record. Her work demonstrates that the archaeology of childhood can be studied by the use of socialization theory. The process of socialization is the process through which cultural information is handed on across generations. In all societies, children have to be taught the culturally specific roles, activities, and behaviours that characterize childhood and the roles they will have as adult individuals in their society. The processes of socialization vary greatly from culture to culture, and there is a probability that the socialization process of Roman children will be reflected in the grave furniture, which, combined with texts that describe rituals of passages in childhood, will give an indication of the stages of the childhood as part of the lifecycle.

The material from Lankhills that is used in this study is from the excavation report by Giles Clarke written in 1979. 148 of the graves are of importance to this study. The individuals are divided into groups according to the age they are given in the excavation report. I have arranged the in tables to see whether it is possible to identify groups of similar graves of children within the same age group or with the same grave goods. The dates of the graves will also be considered. I will use constructed date groups as well, where the earliest and latest years given will be used to calculate a middle number. The depth of the graves will

also be considered, and viewed against age group and date. The graves will be compared with other burials of children in Roman Britain, such as burials from other cemeteries and burials associated with buildings. By looking for similarities and differences while using the theory of socialization it might be possible to see how different stages of childhood was regarded in Roman Britain and if a specific category of objects is recurrently represented with a certain age group.

## **Roman Britain**

### **The invasions of Caesar and Claudius**

The years from about 55 BC to AD 410 cover the Romano-British period in Britain. The Romans and their life in Britain have long been known thanks to a well of both historical and archaeological sources, which have provided us with information that has shaped our time's view of the Romans. Britain had been populated by a series of migrations from Europe since the early Stone Age. The most desirable land was the open country in the south and east, where the soil was fertile and well drained. In the north, the soil contained more rock, and the hills and the relative lack of navigable rivers made agriculture and contact with other tribes more difficult, but it also offered protection to the weaker and less well-armed tribes. This natural division of the country into rich lowland and inferior highland zones remained an important factor during the Roman period (Liversidge 1968:3) and Emperor Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) made Britain into two separate provinces, *Superior* (the south) and *Inferior* (the north) (Bédoyère 2006:63). In 1932, Cyril Fox developed a model with the division of Britain into Lowland and Highland zones. The Lowlands were closer to the continent and therefore more reachable for traders and invaders (Collis 1996:1). Some of those who left the continent for Britain probably brought their families, or made new relations (not necessarily recognized by the Roman law), which would result in Roman burials of women and children in addition to men.

In the years 55 and 54 BC Julius Caesar visited Britain. His military activity was largely restricted to the present counties of Kent, Surrey, and Essex (Cunliffe 2007:6). According to Caesar, Britain was basically unknown before his invasion, even to the Gauls. There is, however, direct archaeological evidence of significant trade between Britain and Gaul before and in the century between the campaigns of Caesar and Claudius (Birley 1980:125; Liversidge 1968:3). Because of the trade between the southern parts of Britain and



the Empire, South-Britain probably had more in common with northern Gaul than northern Britain had in the mid-first century BC, and was well aware of the Roman world and the luxury it provided.

Emperor Claudius arrived in Britain in the summer of AD 43. Large new markets were opened with the Claudian conquest, and merchants not only sold Roman or Gallic goods to the natives, but also supplied the great Roman army. In pre-Roman Britain the society was organized in a complex tribal system. The tribe was most likely ruled by a chief or king or chieftain and/or a council of nobles, or in some cases a queen. After AD 43 many chieftains became dependable client rulers (Alcock 2006:16). During the Roman era, the governance of a province such as Britain was largely administered through the tribes in towns that were reorganized as Roman government units. These towns were called *civitas* capitals (see *fig. 1*) and had officers and specific duties attached to them. Examples are Exeter, Cirencester and Winchester (McCarthy 2002:67). In AD 49, the Roman military arrived in Gloucester. As the fortresses were established so was the nearby cemetery, and the rite of cremation was introduced to this area, where it had not been practiced by the local native population. The earliest cremations in the area are associated with pottery of pre-Flavian date, and are of both males and a female, who can be interpreted as soldiers garrisoned at the fortress and that there were also non-militaries living near the fortresses. Wives and families of soldiers were not officially recognized this early, and it cannot be said whether there were civilians who arrived with the army as camp followers or members of the local native population who lived close to the camp who shared the cemetery with the soldiers (Simmons *et al.* 2008:144). There might have been socially tolerated relations between Romans and natives that were not recognized by the law. Britain was invaded in stages over time, which gave tribes that were not instantly annexed, time to experience profound pressure from the Romans. This may have caused the tribes to modify their institutions by imitation. It is likely that some communities in Britain underwent the process of Romanization in different degrees according to how close geographically they were to Roman settlements, to their own psychology, and to their economic ability to afford Roman manners (Reynolds 1966:71-2).



Fig.1. Map of Roman Britain.

Sometimes groups of people were moved from a hill-fort into a new town to ensure that they were kept under observation and to introduce them to a Romanized way of life. These sites could be more easily controlled as well as being developed as civic centres. When the frontiers were established, it was in the government's interest to encourage the development of thriving communities right up to the line itself, in order for the agricultural and industrial production to supply the troops and thereby reduce the need for the expensive transportation of goods (Alcock 2006:17).

### **Further conquest and frontier movement**

In the years AD 71-84, the conquest of Wales and the North was completed, and the conquest of Scotland started. A large number of troops were stationed in the frontier regions. Their numbers has been estimated to be about 55,000 at its greatest extent, dropping later to about 20,000 (Alcock 2006:31). Some of these men were Britons, but to avoid rebellion, men from different parts of the Empire were often used to guard the frontiers. Non-British regiment serving in Britain would find it more profitable to accept Roman pay than to join local tribes in a rebellion (Blair 1966:63).

Augustus probably ruled that soldiers below the rank of centurion were not permitted to marry during their term of service; maybe to avoid distraction for an army on the move. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence show however, that soldiers did form stable relationships and that their families followed them (Dixon 1992:55). Intermarriage was common, as shown on various tombstones, even though Roman citizens would not have been allowed to marry noncitizens. This did nevertheless happen; a tombstone from South Shields, late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, carries an inscription that shows that a merchant from Palmyra called Barates married his former slave girl Regina, who was from the Catuvellauni tribe (Alcock 2006:19). Other epitaphs to and by wives and children are found at military sites, as well as objects associated with women and children. Although many unofficial relationships took place, soldiers could not legally marry until the reign of Septimius Severus, who lifted the ban in AD 197 (Dixon 1992:55). Camp followers and children lived in the smaller urban sites called *vici* that grew up around forts and the army probably bent the rules when it came to these relationships as children who were brought up close to the forts could grow up to be potential recruits to the army (Alcock 2006:42). In the forts, the commanding officer was usually housed comfortably, especially if he had wife and children with him. At Birdoswald in the early third century, Aurelius Julianus, who was the tribune commanding the I Aelian Cohort

of Dacians, set up a tombstone recording the death of his son Aurelius Concordius, aged one year and five days (Alcock 2006:55). Even though children of Roman soldiers and foreigners would have been illegitimate, it is probable that noncitizen sons of serving soldiers could gain Roman citizenship by recruitment in the army (Dixon 1992:57). If they died, they would be buried in the cemetery connected to the *vici*.

In AD 208, Emperor Septimius Severus arrived in Britain. He divided Britain into two separate provinces; *Superior* and *Inferior* for administration and military purposes (Blair 1966:92). The Romans built organized towns with orderly government, public baths, and decent housing. The towns were not large, but even many of the smaller towns served as market centres and administrative areas (Alcock 2006:33), and the towns would have cemeteries where also children would have been buried. The road system also built by the Romans provided the links between the different units that formed the basis of local administration. There were four *coloniae*; Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and York, that consisted of communities of Roman citizens, as in the *municipia*. A *colonia* was normally a new settlement of veteran legionaries whose service had been completed, whereas a *municipium* was an already existing native community that received special privileges. The inhabitants of the *civitas* were the local tribal aristocracy who did not have Roman citizenship, but the town had, like the *colonia* and *municipium*, a substantial area of land, an urban centre, and a senate (Blair 1966:95-6). After the first century, citizenship was gradually given to individuals and communities, so that all inhabitants in towns with the title *municipium* could be granted citizenship as a whole (Alcock 2006:19). The Edict of Caracalla in AD 212 extended the citizenship to the whole of the freeborn male population. Roman soldiers and other citizens could now legally marry foreigners in the provinces they were stationed, which would include far more people in the Empire (Dixon 1992:92). To what degree the people of Britain considered themselves Roman, Celtic, or any other nationality cannot be said for sure. They nevertheless lived together in a great empire bound together by Roman administration, and, as citizens, Roman law.

### **The end of Roman rule in Britain**

In AD 306, Constantine was declared emperor by his soldiers after his father's death. He legitimized Christianity in AD 313. The next decades were a period of severe stress and internal troubles, with Scots and Picts raiding the frontier. At the same time, Franks and Saxons attacked Gaul (Bédoyère 2006:76). In AD 383, the garrison in Britain declared

Magnus Maximus as their new emperor. He immediately left Britain to claim the Continent, taking much of the garrison with him, but he was defeated and killed within few years. Troops were withdrawn from Britain to use against the Visigoths on the Continent (Bédoyère 2006:77). After AD 402, coinage ceased to be imported into Britain, so the troops were apparently no longer being paid, and in AD 410, Emperor Honorius wrote to the towns of Britain and told them to do what was necessary to defend themselves, which formally brought the Roman rule of Britain to an end (Alcock 2006:30). What was left of the army in Britain might have deserted their posts when they lacked an overall command, or melted into the surrounding civilian area (Alcock 2006:50).

There has been done a vast amount of work on Roman Britain, and there has been written several volumes on the subject, from several points of view. A broad outline of the Roman occupation of Britain has long been known because of the historical, epigraphic, and archaeological sources from the Romano-British period. The remains of the Romans in Britain cannot only be seen in the form of forts, walls, villas, temples and baths, but also cemeteries.

## **Roman burial customs**

### **From cremation to inhumation burials**

When the Romans arrived in Britain, the predominant burial rite of the La Tène III population of south eastern England was cremation as in Italy and most of the western provinces. The burial practice in Britain varied from region to region and gradually changed during the centuries as in the Roman Empire. From Caesar's first campaign in 55 BC to the end of Roman rule in Britain around AD 410 burial practices in the Roman Empire, as reflected in Britain, changed from cremation graves to inhumations (see, among others, Alcock 1980; Black 1986; Clarke 1979; Haselgrove 1987; Jones 1981; Macdonald 1977; Morris 2001; Philpott 1991; Toynbee 1996; Whimster 1981; Wilson 1975). These changes were reactions to political, social, economic, and religious alterations that varied in intensity depending on the geographical, social, or chronological context (Philpott 1991:1). Tacitus wrote in his *Annales* ca. AD 115 that when Nero killed his wife Poppaea in AD 65, she was not consigned to the flames, as was the Roman custom (*mos Romanus*), but the body was embalmed with spices as was the practice of foreign kings (Morris 2001:31). The processes of cremation require a certain amount of skill in order to achieve efficient combustion and the supply of

enough fuel to incinerate the body, and a successful cremation means a lot of lost information for the archaeologists. Inhumation on the other hand require at its simplest neither special skills nor raw materials, and more information can be gathered regarding the skeleton and grave goods. Inhumation is an unburnt body laid to rest in an earth-dug grave, where age, sex, health and different funerary rites can be detected in the skeleton (if preserved), the position and treatment of the body, as well as in the grave furnishing, use or not of coffins of different materials, and marking of the grave above the ground. The differences in the treatment of the body and furnishing of the grave can be indicators of social distinction within groups.

Some of the Iron Age societies in central and southern Britain practiced inhumation before and after the Roman conquest, also in the area occupied by the La Tène III peoples. During the later Iron Age, the cremation rite spread from the Continent to southern and eastern England. The ashes of the dead were put in a container and buried with a range of everyday artefacts (Millett 2005:121). At urban centres in Gloucestershire, notably Cirencester and Gloucester, cremation was widely adopted from AD 49 but the rite made rather less impact on the countryside. The Roman army, the administration, merchants, and other immigrants that followed the army practiced cremation, although they consisted of several different ethnical and cultural groups (Philpott 1991:8). A considerable proportion of the inhumed from the early period are children and it is possible that child inhumation was practised at a time when adults were cremated in the Romanized areas (Philpott 1991:57). This corresponds with classical texts that describe that very young children were not cremated, and it shows that they received different treatment in death than adults.

During the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century, there was a gradual movement away from cremation towards inhumation in response to changes in Italy and the western provinces. The richer classes in Rome probably all took up the new inhumation rite within few years, between about AD 140 and 180. The rite spread more slowly to the lower classes and the areas outside Rome (Morris 2001:54). From this period, inhumations begin to appear regularly in cemeteries in the major towns and legionary fortresses in Britain (Philpott 1991:57). The transition from cremation to inhumation is exemplified at Dorchester-on-Thames, where cremation was practiced until the AD 180s, then cremation and inhumation together for about 100 years, and from around AD 280 only inhumation was practiced (Alcock 2006:90). The large urban cemetery dated to AD 50-200 at Victoria Road, Winchester, had a total of 92 cremations, and 12 adult and 68 infant or child inhumations, but it is uncertain whether the inhumations

represent the continuation of one strand of native practice, or reflect the introduction of inhumation from the continent (Philpott 1991:56). The inhumation practice was not taken up by everyone. Cremations from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century have been found at some geographical areas. There are several sites in the northern frontier zone with cremations from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century, and there are also concentrations in and around Winchester in the south and *Verulamium* in the south east (Philpott 1991:50). At Lankhills, Winchester, there is an area with only cremations that date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Alcock 2006:90). In Britain, the transition to inhumation was at the most visible in the Romanized towns and in the southeast where cremation had been the main burial rite during the first two centuries of the Roman occupation (Philpott 1991:53). The Roman cemeteries were outside the city walls, often along main roads to gain the attention of the travellers.

### **Graves and cemeteries**

One of the few places a Roman cemetery can be seen as it actually was is in Pompeii, where the monuments can still be seen in their original context. Here, only one inhumation grave, from ca AD 50, was found among the thousands of burials (Morris 2001:44). Not all cemeteries across the empire would have appeared like this, though. In Britain, comparatively few stone funerary markers from the Roman period have been found; either because of lack of suitable materials or because the fashion for inscribed funerary monuments did not catch on (Hope 2009:153, 166). There are quite a few larger Roman cemeteries in Britain, like in Cirencester, Colchester, Poundbury, Winchester, York, and London. They would not, however, be referred to as cemeteries by contemporary Romans, as the Latin word *coemeterium* is a term borrowed from Greek, meaning ‘a sleeping place’ connected to the Christian belief that the dead would awaken on the Last Day. The pre-Christian Roman burial ground would by contemporary Romans be called a *necropolis*, ‘city of the dead’, or *sepulcretum* or *sepulcrum*. The latter could also be used for a single burial or a larger area containing many burials (Carroll 2006:2-3). The word ‘cemetery’ will nevertheless be used in this analysis for the sake of convenience as it is the word most often used in the literature.

Throughout the Roman occupation of Britain, the society consisted of adults and children from British tribes and the Roman army, as well as of families of merchants and craftsmen from various parts of the Empire, as the graves and cemeteries throughout the country demonstrate. Graves and cemeteries can provide information on how people treated their dead, what grave furniture (if any) they regarded as important, and the status of the

person buried. The skeleton and bone material, on the other hand, are important when one wants to find out about the person's life; their age at death, sex, height, ethnicity and health. Mortuary remains has been used widely in studies of past social identities that have provided information about social constructs such as gender, ethnicity, and status (Gowland 2001:153). Graves, cemeteries and grave goods can give information on how people lived, what they believed in, and what they anticipated would await them in the after-life. Classical texts show that the Romans had definite laws already during the Republic that regulated the burials. There were rituals for how the dead should be attended, so that the dead did not pollute the world of the living, or lingered when the spirit should travel to the afterlife.

## **Previous Research**

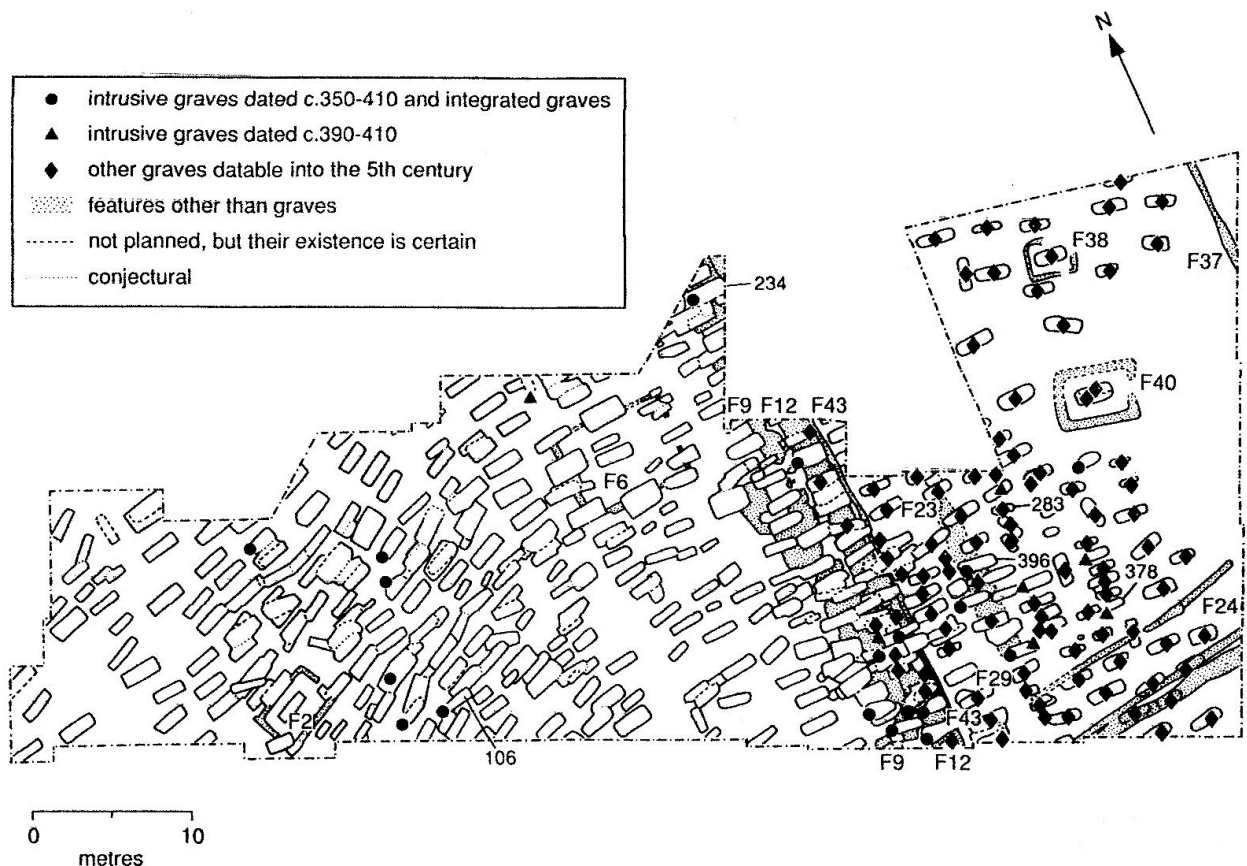
### **Early archaeological excavations of Roman burials**

Roman burials are recorded already during the early post-medieval period, but the records are not detailed enough to permit modern reinterpretation of the excavations until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Reverend Bryan Faussett's work at Crundale in Kent, in 1757 and 1759, are of the earliest well-recorded archaeological excavations on a Roman cemetery in Britain (Philpott 1991:2). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century population growth, industrial development and the arrival of the railways exposed many Roman cemeteries and hundreds of individual burials, many of which have probably been lost without being recorded, whilst others were excavated. The recording of these excavations varies in degree, from almost non-existent to the thorough recordings by General Pitt-Rivers. General Pitt-Rivers set standards that were not equalled until the 1970s on his publication of the excavation on Cranborne Chase, with detailed descriptions, measurements, and plans of all graves showing the body posture and position of grave furniture, together with lithographs of the skeletal remains (Philpott 1991:3). The early records emphasize the richly furnished burials at the expense of the unfurnished, although the last category was probably in majority in the Roman time as at all times. Single urn burials were often dismissed as 'not important'. The loss of the many anonymous graves and the preference of richer burials in the 19<sup>th</sup> century can give an incorrect picture of the Roman society.



## Twentieth century excavations

The study of Romano-British burials in their own right began in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although the primary concern in most cases of cemetery excavation was to recover closed, stratified groups of pottery to assist in the production of pottery typologies (Philpott 1991:3). From the 1960s, some scholars began using ethnographic accounts of funerary rites as the processual archaeology was developed, attempting to explain rather than just describe past actions. Peter Ucko (1969:262-90) demonstrated through a broad variety of studies of non-western societies that frequently assumed preconceptions among prehistorians could be challenged. He stated that the presence of grave goods does not necessarily imply belief in an afterlife; the orientation of the burial might not express the believed direction of the other world; and cremation need not imply any belief in the existence of a soul after death. During the 1960s and 1970s some considerable advances were made regarding reports with the publications of the excavation of Trentholme Drive, York, in 1968 and the Lankhills cemetery (*Fig. 2*) report in 1979 (Philpott 1991:107).



**Fig. 2. The Lankhills cemetery.**

Giles Clarke (1979:5) describes the cemetery at Lankhills as one of the largest and most important places of its kind in the area. Of the 451 late-Roman graves at Lankhills, only seven were cremations, and 375 inhumation graves were intact and fully excavated (Clarke 1979:10-13). Computers were used to analyse grave types and associated artefacts, and through detailed examination of the vertical and horizontal stratigraphy, a quite narrow date range could be assigned to most graves (Clarke 1979; Philpott 1991:3). The thorough statistical analysis of the grave types that were done at Lankhills, with combinations of grave furniture compared against sex and age, depended on the fortunate, but quite atypical, coincidence of a large sample of both well-preserved and furnished inhumations, to which gender and age could be assigned in many cases. No cremation cemetery of comparable size has the same demographic data and no similar-sized inhumation cemetery excavated so far in Roman Britain has such a high proportion of furnished and sexed graves (Philpott 1991:3-4). The study of funerary practices was one element of *middle range theory* where archaeologists searched for constant relationships between the static archaeological remains and the active behaviours of the people that created the record (Parker Pearson 1999:27). Lewis Binford suggested that certain elements could be expected, such as a direct connection between the social rank of the deceased and the number of people with relationships to the deceased, and that the *social persona* of a person in life could be recognized in the funerary rituals. The *social persona* was a combination of the social identities a person had in life that was seen as suitable when the rituals concerning the funeral were decided. Age, sex, social position, conditions of death, location of death, and social relationships were listed by Binford as factors that determined the social persona (Parker Pearson 1999:28).

Reactions to the processual archaeology emerged from the late 1970s, with Ian Hodder's arguments against the generalizing approaches of the processual archaeologists. Within the diversity of theories that became the postprocessual archaeology, archaeologists stressed, among other points, the active strategies of the individual. During the 1980s, there was a development in the presentation of the data from excavations, such as in analyses of grave treatments and postural variations. The publication of individual grave plans in cemeteries at Skeleton Green, Canterbury, Great Dunmow, Site J, Kelvedon, and Derby Racecourse provides a valuable quantity of comparative information and detailed finds reports, and plans of cemeteries, skeletal remains, and grave layouts. Towards the 1990s, archaeologists turned away from ethnographic data, and analysis of cemetery development

and of the distribution of grave furniture types were gradually more often seen as essential to cemetery excavation reports (Philpott 1991:4). Grave furniture and funerary rites were seen as not necessarily tokens of a person's social status, but the culmination of a series of actions by the mourners to express their relationship with the deceased as well as to portray the identity of the deceased (Parker Pearson 1999:84). Further excavations will give more information on important issues such as rites, origins, social status, and distributions, not only in the southern lowland zones of Britain, but also in the northern highland areas that has been to some extent neglected previously.

### **The study of gender and childhood**

From the 1980s gender studies became an area of increasing interest in archaeological studies as a critique of male oppression and the lack of attention to prehistoric females (Parker Pearson 1999:95). Likewise, little consideration has previously been paid to the importance of age as an aspect of social organization in the past. In 1962, Philippe Ariès (125) stated that in the medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist. The children were not neglected, but people were not aware of the particular nature of childhood. Later works have shown that people in earlier societies did in fact know that childhood was a different life stage than adulthood. Children have been overlooked when studying past societies up until the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. In anthropology, the study of childhood increased from the early 2000s. Only three articles about children appeared in *American Anthropologist* between 1986 and 2001, and only four percent of the articles from the past hundred years contained significant information about children (Baxter 2005a:7).

The idea of mortuary practice as 'idealized social categorization' is now a fairly standard idea in archaeological literature (Scott 1999:9). Age is one important principle of social organization, and should therefore not be ignored in analyses of past societies (Kamp 2001:3). As well as in anthropology, childhood as a research topic in archaeology was developed from the late 1980s. In the literature prior to the 1980s, children were sometimes used to explain the presence of artefact categories found at excavations that were otherwise difficult to interpret, such as miniature vessels, toys, or figurines (Baxter 2005a:8). The article 'A Child is Born: The Child's World in an Archaeological Perspective' by Grete Lillehammer, published in *Norwegian Archaeological Review* in 1989, is considered the birth of the archaeology of childhood. In this article Lillehammer is the first to look systematically at methods and theories to study children through the archaeological record (Baxter

2005a:16). She defined the child's world as the culture created when children interact with the environment, the culture transferred to children from adults, and the culture transferred among children (Lillehammer 1989:90). The growing interest in children's roles and activities and the resulting traces in the archaeological record have resulted in several volumes on various aspects on the archaeology of childhood by authors such as Mary Baker (1997), Jane Eva Baxter (2005a, 2005b, 2008), Andrew T. Chamberlain (1997, 2000), Sally Crawford (2000), Nyree Finlay (1997), Mark Golden (1993), Sanne Houby-Nielsen (2000), Janet Huskinson (1996), Kathryn Kamp (2001), Grete Lillehammer (1989, 2000), M. C. Lillie (1997), Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott (1997), Elizabeth Rega (2000), Blythe Roveland (2000), Eleanor Scott (1993, 1999), Joanna Sofaer Derevenski (1994, 1997, 2000) and Laura Wilkie (2000) among several others. Baxter and Lillehammer have also recently written about theoretical and methodological approaches to studying children and childhood in the past through the archaeological record (Baxter 2005a, 2008; Lillehammer 2010).

## **Method and theory**

### **Problem to be addressed**

Is it possible to tell from the Roman graves in Britain if childhood was represented in a special manner, as a series of stages, or just one specific stage before adulthood? If so, was the biological age of the dead child of importance regarding the burial customs, and will it therefore be possible to see different age thresholds in the grave material? Does the grave furniture reflect social age categories as a result of the socialization process of children in the Roman-British society, so that a certain category of material is frequently represented with a certain age group? To examine these questions I will collect data from a cemetery with a high number of child burials where form, location, and grave goods for each burial are well documented. The grave furniture is defined as everything within the grave that was intentionally deposited, and did not form part of the grave-pit or structure, the body, or container or tiles enclosing the body (Clarke 1979:145). I will construct age groups based on the age given in the written material from the excavation. By using broad-based age categories instead of making point estimates of age for each buried individual I can increase the possibilities of certain analyses, but may at the same time lose information about important social distinctions between children of different ages (Baxter 2005a:102). Bodies can be aged relatively accurately from teeth up to the age of 25, and from the fusion of

cartilaginous areas at the ends of the long bones for girls between 13 and 25, and boys between 15 and 25 (Morris 2001:73). As I am using literature already written about the graves as a main source of material, the age of the children will already have been estimated in the literature from examinations of teeth and bones and according to the size of the graves. I choose to use constructed age groups to see the overall picture because I am not able to determine the precise age of the individuals, and use the ages determined in the literature when looking closer at the individual graves.

The criteria that will be used to answer these questions are age, objects in and around the graves, the combination or lack of grave goods, the location of the burial, grave depth, and treatment of the graves. On funerary monuments, the iconography is an important factor, such as representations of the child, activities, objects, the surroundings, and accompanying persons, along with the inscriptions. The persons can be depicted with various forms of material culture that can tell something about objects used in different stages of childhood. In Britain, not many of the children's graves have figured grave markers, therefore that source will not be a main criterion, but used as additional information where possible, as will epitaphs and Classical texts.

### **To identify children through the archaeological material**

Children and infants are a part of most societies, but not always recognizable in the archaeological material. Mortuary remains have long been used to discuss children in the archaeological record, as some argues; the skeletons of children can quite easily be recognized compared to adult skeletons. In a cemetery with inhumation burials, the graves of children are often possible to identify because they are smaller than the adult graves, but sub adults are more difficult to recognize from the size of the grave alone and other criteria must be considered. A young child is different from an adult because of the child's lack of experience, social interaction, and development into a functioning member of society (Lillehammer 2000:20). The age at which the child is no longer regarded as a child, however, differs considerably in different present and past cultures, as well as the different stages within childhood. In modern, Western societies, for example, one would distinguish between a child in her last year in kindergarten and a child in her first year at school as being a school girl or not, but the age at which a child starts school differs in the European countries. The words used to describe different biological age groups and the meanings of these words are socially created categories. The definitions of words like *child*, *infant/infancy*, and *childhood*

vary considerably among both present day and historical cultures. Idealized categories are often about how stages in the life circle were marked through language, ceremony, ritual, and performance and how specified sets of roles, behaviours, expectations, and limitations became associated with particular individuals (Baxter 2008:163). In many cultures, the infant was not regarded as a full member of society, and was therefore treated differently from adults and older children in both life and death.

Some studies from the late 1990s and onwards have sought to identify children through the archaeological material and describe childhood and adolescence. In for instance classical Athenian iconography, three stages of life preceding adulthood can be identified, according to Lesley Beaumont (2000:40-2). Linda Grimm (2000:53) argues that childhood and adolescence can be located archaeologically through the lithic material from the Palaeolithic period, as flint knapping is a technological activity that requires a great deal of practice and the practice would therefore begin in early childhood and adolescence. Children have also been identified as apprentices in the craft of ceramic manufacture, in a study where children's fingerprints in fired clay vessels can be seen (Kamp *et al.* 1999). A Mesolithic piece of resin with a child's tooth impression was found in Norway (Finlay 1997:205).

### **The theory of socialization**

Socialization is the progress of children's assimilation into society when they learn the social and cultural norms of that society. This starts in early childhood by the closest family members, and continues throughout adolescence by other members of the society as well as the family. Gender and childhood are linked through the process through which cultural information is handed on across generations. The process of socialization prepares children for adulthood and it transforms a newborn child into a social person who is capable of interacting with others (Baxter 2005a:29). In all societies children have to be taught the culturally specific roles, activities, and behaviours that characterize childhood and gender, as well as other cultural information required to survive as members of particular social groups by adult family members, other adult caregivers, community members, other children, and institutions (Baxter 2005a:3, 29). As children grow, they are prepared for life in their social group, and they are engendered as they develop an awareness of gender identity, gender roles, and gender rules (Sofaer Derevenski 1997:194). Through play children can modify roles by pretending to be someone and/or somewhere else. They can manipulate their own environments, although this would be difficult to see archaeologically in burial context.

Jane Eva Baxter writes that not only are the definitions of childhood but also of gender culturally specific constructions around the biological categories of age and sex, with meanings that can be expected to vary widely among cultures, as both ascribes roles, activities, and behaviours to individuals (2005a:3). Osteologists can decide the sex of adult skeletons in up to 95 per cent of cases, but the assignment of biological sex may be biased towards males. The biological sex is difficult to determine on skeletons of children, but can be done by the recovery of ancient DNA (Parker Pearson 1999:95-6). In some cases, the grave goods can give an indication of the constructed, cultural gender, as can inscriptions on funerary reliefs where this occurs. Differences in burials of children at different stages in life can be interpreted as both the society's ideals of how to commemorate the dead and the adults' representations of individual children (Baxter 2008:165).

The processes of socialization vary greatly from culture to culture. Baxter (2005a:24) writes that instead of assuming socialization to be an exact way to teach children, or a process with a certain result, one should consider it as a dialogue between older, experienced members of a culture and younger members requiring cultural knowledge. She argues that children play important roles in their own socialization as they as well are active participants in the socialization process, and that a large part of social learning is a result of informal observation and imitation rather than structured or directed instruction. As they are not passive recipients, there will be differences in each new generation (2005a:27-32). Baxter also emphasises that the concept of socialization can be taken from contemporary settings for use in studies of children in the past, so that the theory of socialization can be used to illuminate the lives of children and their relationship to their communities and societies as a whole (2005a:12). Cultural knowledge is transmitted through the creation and use of artefacts (Baxter 2008:171). The material culture plays an important role in establishing and reinforcing social roles for children during childhood (Baxter 2005a:39). Modern children interact with the material culture around them, and similar connections with other forms of material culture may also have existed in the past. It might therefore be possible to draw theoretical parallels between living children in historical societies and material culture, and the relationship between the bodies of dead children and their associated artefacts (Sofaer Derevenski 2000:10), and one might thus be able to see whether the grave material reflects the social position of children in different age stages in the Roman-British society.

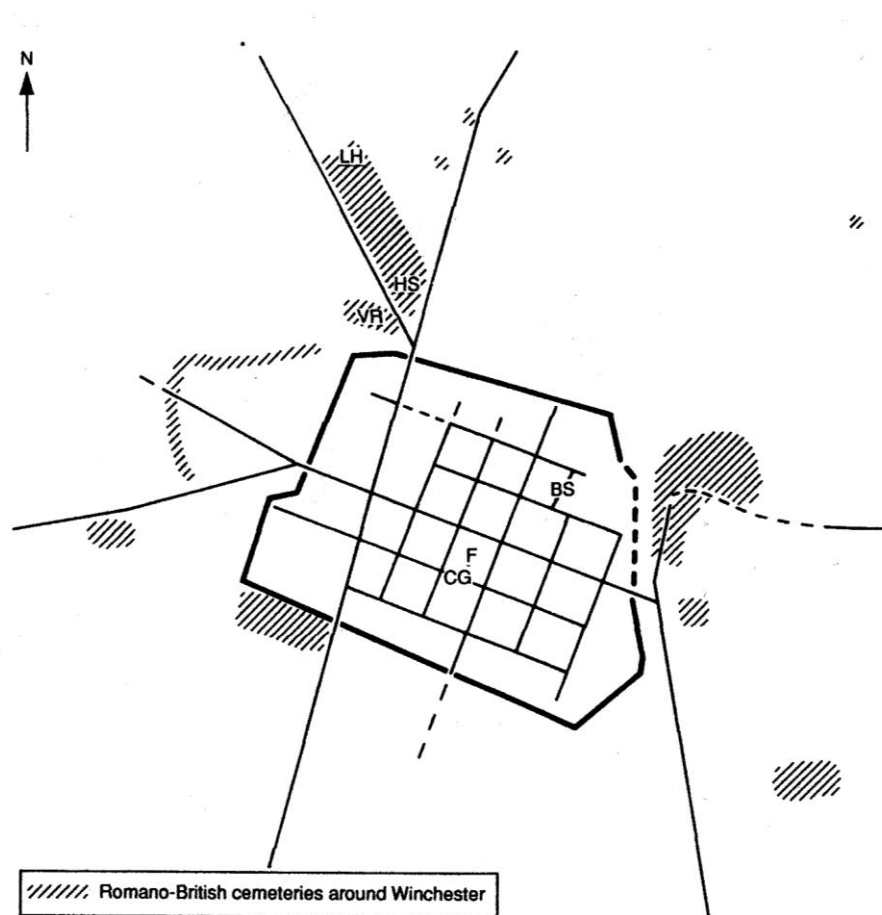
Sofaer Derevenski (2000:12) writes that we need to try to understand the social situation of children in the past through a study of their social and individually constructed identities *as children*, to use the relationship between children and material culture to construct interpretations. The material culture which children produce or interact with links the child to the environment, adults, other children, and to the social basis of cultural tradition (Lillehammer 2000:20). Though the nature of symbolic information in artefacts is debated, most archaeologists agree that a single object may carry multiple meanings, depending on the context of its use and the perspective of its user (Baxter 2005a:40). Toys, for instance, are objects that carry different meanings depending on the social context in which they are found. Adults can use toys as a way of defining age, gender, and social class; something that will both amuse children and educate proper roles and behaviours, but to the child, an object does not necessarily need to be classified as a toy to be something the child can play with. Sticks and stones, household objects, or discarded artefacts can be transformed into toys and will then have a new meaning when used by a child than if the object was used by an adult (Baxter 2005a:43). Objects seen as toys and playthings that are found in mortuary contexts can be interpreted as goods children used during their lifetime, but these interpretations need to be carefully considered, as the grave goods might represent a symbolic and idealized social category, rather than goods the individuals actually used during their lifetime (Baxter 2005a:50).

## **The material**

### **The Lankhills cemetery in Winchester**

To study children through the skeletal remains alone can be problematic because getting a representative sample can be difficult as the bones can be very small and fragile. The bones are often not well preserved due to the incomplete calcification of immature bone, the soil in which they are buried, and because of the common practice of burying infants and children through other methods or in different locations than adults (Baxter 2005a:99-101). The material used in this presentation is mainly from the Lankhills cemetery in Winchester, excavated and thoroughly documented by Giles Clarke and his team in 1967-1972 (*fig. 3*).





**Fig. 3. The Romano-British cemeteries around Winchester.**

BS = Lower Brook Street; CG = Cathedral Green; F = forum; HS = Hyde Street; LH = Lankhills; VR = Victoria Road.

The Lankhills cemetery report set a new standard for the analytical method and publication of Romano-British cemeteries (Philpott 1991:3). The Winchester area is rich in finds from pre-Roman, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon times, and the archaeological excavations are continuous. The town Winchester was the Roman *Venta Belgarum*, which was one of the most important Roman towns in Britain, with a regular street layout, major public buildings, town walls, and a seat of local government. The Lankhills cemetery lies north of the town, in the triangle between the roads to the tribal centres of Silchester and Cirencester (*fig. 3*). It was in use for most of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, dated by pottery and coins (Clarke 1979:4). There are other cemeteries in the area, for example the Hyde Street cemetery with 189 burials dated from ca. AD 50-175 (Ottaway 1996:78), and the burials under the Cattle Market dated to ca. AD 250-290 (Clarke 1979:11). Giles Clarke (1979:5) describes the cemetery at Lankhills as one of the

largest and most important places of its kind in the area. Of the 375 inhumation graves that were intact and fully excavated, 146 burials were of people within the age range from neonatal to around 20 years, in addition to two adult burials also containing very young children. During the excavation, age determinations were made from examinations of teeth and bones, and from the size of the grave. In cases where the body was fully decomposed, or the grave had been disturbed, estimated age was made from the size of the grave and the coffin. Some miscalculations must be allowed for, as small bones decompose faster than large bones. Children's graves are also often shallower than the graves of adults, which have led to disturbances during the years (Clarke 1979:123). Where the age of the individual could not be precisely estimated, they were aged with terms such as infant, infant/child, child, and sub adult. Some mistakes were also done during the excavation, there was for example an error in labelling one of the graves with the result that two skeletons are labelled as coming from this grave: one was aged 11-12 and the other one aged about 18 (Clarke 1979:173), but in Clarke's catalogue the individual in this grave is aged as adult, hence neither is mentioned in this study. Rebecca Gowland (2001) wrote a study in which she explores the way in which cemetery variables and material culture associations may be used to identify possible age constructions based on the Lankhills cemetery. For her study, she re-sexed and re-aged all of the individuals, including the adults, because the original published report of the skeletal material was made prior to the development of some of the more recent aging techniques (Gowland 2001:154). I will use the ages given in Clarke's excavation report, however, as Gowland's publication from 2001 does not include a complete list of the individuals and their ages. Material from other graves and cemeteries from around Britain will also be used to compare and contrast the finds from Lankhills, like the Roman cemetery at London Road in Gloucester and Trentholme Drive in York, as well as burials associated with buildings from around Britain. As from the Lankhills cemetery, I will use literature about the material, as I will not have access to the material itself.

## **Differentiation in mortuary practice**

Funerary evidence has been used extensively in studies regarding past social identities. There are two competing views in the archaeological analysis of mortuary remains. The more traditional view is that burial practices reflect the social organization in a society and one can therefore see the social roles and relationships that organized past cultures through the mortuary assemblages (O'Shea 1984; Tainter 1978). Nan Rothschild wrote in 1979 (660) that

'if patterns exist in mortuary practices, it is assumed that they relate to structural divisions in society'. An alternative view originates in the postprocessual school of thought (Baxter 2005a:94). This view argues that mortuary practices, goods, and rituals are decided by the participants corresponding to their belief systems, worldviews, and symbolic systems (Parker Pearson 1999:28-9). Social roles and identities can be forged or verified through burial rites, which can be regarded as social acts, claims made by relatives on behalf of the individual being buried (Janik 2000:117; Lucy 1994:24). Hence, the mortuary remains do not directly reflect the social structures, but rather are symbolic representations of those social structures that can be interpreted, manipulated, and negotiated and thus used to mask or invert social relations (Baxter 2005a:95).

In cases where children are the only ones buried with particular artefacts, or on the other hand, are the only individuals buried without them, this can be understood in terms of horizontal differentiation, age- and sex-based dimensions of status (Parker Pearson 1999:75) and the construction of diversity between age groups. There is a possibility that current western views of children as dependent and in need of protection will de-emphasize their potential roles as important contributors to social systems and economic strategies (Baxter 2005a:97; Kamp 2001; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). A study by Christopher Carr (1995), where he used the human relations area files, demonstrates that there are two dominant social factors determining burial practice: one being age, primarily the division between child and adult, the other being social rank. Carr's study showed that age was a significant factor when it came to grave location, body preparation, energy expenditure, and the number of burial types, and he concluded that mortuary practices are determined by a combination of philosophical-religious and social factors, as well as physical and circumstantial factors (1995:122). The decisions concerning a child's burial are made by adults, so the analysis of the mortuary remains reflects the thoughts and convictions by the adult members of a culture (Baxter 2005a:94). These actions, reflected in the mortuary remains, might make it possible to tell from the graves if childhood was represented in a special manner and if the age of the dead child was of importance. As burials of children are of individuals who did not live long enough to become adults, the grave material might not reflect the general social life of children in the Roman-British society, but rather an ideal of childhood created by adults.

## **Burials of infants and children**

In mortuary contexts, children and infants can be quite visible as they are often buried in ways that are different from those of adults, in either form or location, or both, and regarding type and frequency of grave furnishing and treatment of the body. An example of different burial form for adults and children is from a small cemetery at Eretria, in Greece, from about 700 BC, where adults were cremated with the ashes put in bronze urns while children were inhumed in wooden coffins. However, in nearby Anavyssos near Athens, the adults were inhumed in pit graves, and the children were cremated and their ashes put in wine jars (Morris 2001:18). And in ancient Athens infants and small children were among the most carefully buried individuals, and cemeteries devoted primarily to them extended over large areas at the most important and prestigious city gates (Houby-Nielsen 2000:151). In Etruria, in central Italy, infants were buried in small cemeteries, and sometimes in the ruins of disused farmhouses (Scott 1999:4), while in Iron Age Latium, Italy, at the settlement of Ficana, 21 children aged between newborn and four years were found buried within the settlement (Brandt 1997:147). Infant burials are under-represented in many town and city cemeteries in Roman Britain, although there is a suggestion of a change in the burial practice some time during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The 4<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries at Dunstable in Bedfordshire, two of the cemeteries in Winchester, Hampshire, and possible Poundbury 3 in Dorset have a higher number of infants than 2<sup>nd</sup> century cemeteries like Trentholme Drive in York, Derby Racecourse in Derbyshire, and West Tenter Street in London (Philpott 1991:98-9). The low numbers of infant burials in cemeteries can be explained to some extent by the fact that infant bones decompose more easily than adult's bones, especially in some types of soil. Some past societies distinguished infancy from childhood and childhood from adulthood, and even more so the recognition of the neonatal period as a particular and different stage of infancy, excluded from common burial grounds (Scott 1999:4). Some communities or families set aside discrete areas for the burial of infants and young children, and occasionally separate areas in urban cemeteries appear to have been reserved for infant or child burials. At Lankhills, children are buried in any part of the cemetery at any time, but there are certain areas in the cemetery where infant burials are particularly frequent. These areas might have been used as infant burial grounds before the areas became part of the main cemetery as the ground expanded (Clarke 1979:190). According to the old laws of the Romans, the Twelve Table law, all burials, i.e. both cremations and inhumations, had to take place outside the city

walls (Toynbee 1996:48; Wilson 1975:18). However, an exception seems to have been made for infants. In the Roman culture, the general acceptance was that an infant under 40 days old was not fully human and did not cause religious pollution if they died, and could therefore be excluded from the law that burial should not take place within a town or settlement (Rawson 2005:343; Scott 1999:2). The word ‘infant’ comes from the Latin word *infantia*, which means unable to speak (Richards 1980:4). A child who died would not have gone through the necessary socialization processes to become a member of the society. Fulgentius wrote that the ancients in former times called the burial places of infants who had not yet lived 40 days for *suggrundaria*. They could not be called graves because there were no bones to be cremated, nor was there a big enough corpse for a mound to be raised. Because an infant lacked a soul there was nothing to survive at death, and therefore neither special burial rites to pacify the gods nor grave furniture were necessary. Infants were disposed of in ditches, pits, and rubbish deposits as well as in a variety of other locations throughout the Roman period, as at Alcester in Warwickshire where an area of open ground near some ditches was used as an infant burial ground in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Philpott 1991:98). At Woodcuts Common, Dorset, infants were buried in pits, banks and on the surface during the Roman period, and at Baldock, Hertfordshire, 22 infants were disposed of in quarry pits, gullies and pits (Stead and Rigby 1986:393). At Poxwell in Dorset and Radwinter in Essex, infants were buried in rubbish deposits (Philpott 1991:98), and in ditches at Uley in Gloucestershire (Goodburn 1979:323), Womersley in West Yorkshire, Ructstalls Hill in Basingstoke, as well as in Rudston villa in Humberside (Philpott 1991:98). At Portchester Castle in Sussex 13 infants of 27 that were found within the boundaries of the fort were buried in pits among a variety of animal, bird and fish bones (Hooper 1975:376).

Infants are found buried in significant numbers inside dwellings and outhouses in most regions of Britain throughout the Roman period. According to finds, newborn infants were often buried beneath the eaves of houses or outbuildings, sealed under the floors, and outside or close to buildings where they usually lie within the foundation trenches of exterior walls, or in enclosures (Gowland 2001:156; Liversidge 1968:468; Perring 2002:198; Philpott 1991:97; Scott 1999:1). The buildings that are used vary in function from both villas and town houses, dwellings to workshops and barns and other outbuildings, as well as disused and collapsed buildings, and sporadically inside auxiliary forts (Philpott 1991:97; Scott 1999:4). Fulgentius used the term *suggrundaria* for the burials of children around buildings, meaning ‘eaves’ and

the space beneath (Pearce 2001:126-7). The practice of burying infants in or near houses may have occurred more often at rural settlements and small towns but is also repeatedly seen in the major urban centres both in Rome and on several Roman sites in Britain (Perring 2002:198). In towns like St. Albans, Hertfordshire, or Dorchester, Dorset, the buildings are usually private houses. The St. Albans burials show that the tradition was current from before the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century into the 4<sup>th</sup> in urban areas, and at rural sites already from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century (Philpott 1991:97). Pliny described the Roman practice to bury infants under the eaves of houses (*HN* 7.15), and Fulgentius later wrote in *Sermones Antiqui* 7 that it was thought fonder to keep the dead infants at home than to dispatch them to a cemetery. The ages of the newborn and infants that are buried within settlements and villas ranges from between ca 24 gestational weeks to six months, after which they are usually buried elsewhere (Gowland 2001:157). At Bradley Hill in Somerton, 21 of the 34 infants were found within Building 3. Two of the infants were buried in small, unheated bedrooms or cupboards. Building 3 had probably been used as a barn and the burials had been inserted in the floor either contemporary with this or at a later period. Because of all the infant burials, the building was considered to have a religious function, but it could still be used as a barn (Leech 1981:192). Outside Dorchester, in Poundbury, in what was then a rural site; infants were buried near and in houses as early as the mid-late 1<sup>st</sup> century. This continued so that infants were buried under the floor of a domestic building (R16) when the adjacent contemporary Cemetery 2 lacked infants (Green 1982:62).

Other examples of infant burials in houses and other buildings are from Baldock in Hertfordshire after the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Stead and Rigby 1986:38, 393), at Saunderton villa in Buckinghamshire at the beginning of the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Philpott 1991:97), and at Littlecote villa in Wilts in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century (Frere 1984:322). An infant had been inserted in the debris of collapse in Room 2 of Building 8 at Springhead, Kent. The infant had been buried with a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century pewter vessel (Penn 1968:170). At Barton Court villa in Oxon, a corner of the farmyard was used as an infant burial ground (Frere 1977:419) and at Hambleton villa in Buckinghamshire, 97 newborn infants were found in the northern part of a yard near Building 3, which was a workshop (Philpott 1991:98). The large number of buried infants at Hambleton villa has by some been interpreted as a burial ground for unwanted female children of slaves used in the agriculture that were disposed of unceremoniously (Frere *et al.* 1987:259). In the *vicus* of the fort at Malton, and the interior of the fort itself, 20-30

infants were found; eight in the shop area, three in the Town House, and eleven in the Kiln building (Mitchelson 1964:229). These burials are dated AD 296-367, and have been seen as evidence that during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century wives and children of the garrison could legally live inside the fort (Philpott 1991:98). At South Shields, Tyne and Wear, an infant was buried beneath a solid floor within a granary in the interior of the fort (Frere 1988:433). Also at Little Chester fort in Derbyshire, two infants were buried in a building, which may indicate civilian occupation in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century (Philpott 1991:98). The abolition in the early third century of the law that denied marriage to the ordinary soldier would probably have coincided with government assistance to the resulting wives and children (Birley 1977:47). Soldiers could legally marry local women from around AD 197, and this was taken for granted in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Morris 2001:83). This would explain the civilian occupation and burials of women and children near forts, and the differences in the child burials can give indications of how children were regarded as members of social groups.

Infants are also occasionally found buried in baths and ritual contexts. At Ridgeons Garden in Cambridge nine ritual pits from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century, dug in a shrine that had been dismantled and sealed with clay in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, contained dog skeletons and an infant buried in a wicker basket while seven of the pits contained two infants; one above the other (Selkirk 1978:58-9). At Little Chester, Derby, one burial from late 1<sup>st</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century found within an apsidal building was thought to have been a dedication to the shrine, and at Ware in Hertfordshire, several infant burials were spread west of a small roadside temple (Philpott 1991:98). At Wroxeter, Shropshire, one infant was found in a room of the Baths Basilica (Philpott 1991:97). At Springhead Roman temple in Kent, a group of infants was found within the sacred enclosure, *temenos*, of Temple IV. Two of the graves were furnished, one with a coin and the other with a miniature pot. In the corners of the central building, *cella*, two pairs of infants were buried, of which one in each pair had been decapitated, and their heads were missing (Penn 1960:121-2; Penn 1964:176-7). In Roman societies, it is estimated by some that infant mortality was approximately 25-35% (Gowland 2001:155), and by others that, as in other pre-industrial societies, around half of the individuals born were unlikely to reach maturity (Pearce 2001:125). Most infant burials were simple shallow graves with no special grave treatment. A small number were stone-lined, as at Bradley Hill and Catsgore, or protected by stones and pebbles, as at Springhead. Within the fort at Malton, some were laid in lime and covered by roofing tiles or stones while others

were simply laid on the floor (Philpott 1991:100). This differentiation between infants and older children that can be seen in burial locations and grave furnishing might have been indications of children's different stages in the process of socialization children go through to become full members of a society. In Britain, the parents of these infants came from provinces all over the Empire. They came in contact with each other and with the local population. Several mixed marriages are known in Roman Britain of both Roman centurions and decurions who brought their wives with them from other provinces, and of officers marrying British girls (Allason-Jones 2007:274). There would have been meetings of several different cultures, that would all be expected to live up to the Roman ideals of life, and the parents would be expected to socialize their children according to those ideals. The grave material might reflect these socialization processes of children in the Roman-British society. The locations and manners of the burials were decisions made by adults, and might therefore expose how youth was represented at different stages of childhood.

### ***Mors Immatura***

Death was a normal danger of childbirth and infancy, because of disease, infection, malnutrition, often very young mothers, and other causes. These immature deaths, *Mors immatura*, are stated by ancient writers such as Aristotle, Pliny, Juvenal, and Cicero among others. In AD 197 Septimius Severus gave soldiers permission to marry, a process no more complex than that the man and woman consented to the match in front of witnesses (Allason-Jones 2007:285). According to Roman law, boys from the age of 14 and girls from the age of 12 could legally enter marriage (Rawson 1991:27). Women in Roman Italy probably married in the early to mid teens in the upper classes and in the late teens for other people, men were generally about ten years older. Girls were often quite young when they married, but very early pregnancies were argued against by Soranus, in the second century, in the interest of the women and future children (Rawson 2005: 95-6). Early pregnancies could be dangerous for both mother and child, and many would have died. The explicit aim of a Roman marriage was to have children to keep the family from dying out, as well as to recruit boys to defend the society and girls give birth to even more boys and girls to produce legitimate Roman citizen children. The Romans practised rituals connected with birth and other stages of life. When a child was born and pronounced fit to live, it would be placed on the ground for the father to raise up ritually as a signal that he accepted the paternity of the child and intended to bring it up, and a sacrifice would be made to the family deities (Dixon 1992:101). It was important to



produce heirs, and to maintain the population level, but unwanted babies could legally be disposed off by the father. To what extent infanticide (killing of newborns) actually was practiced is discussed, and the amount of newborn infants that are found buried in Roman Britain are not necessarily proof of excessive infanticide.

Death and childhood were closely connected in the Roman world. Although it is impossible to measure the amount of personal mourning, there was a Roman tradition not to mark the deaths of very young children by the same mourning practices as were given young adults, which show that the age of the dead child was of importance. The Classical texts give descriptions of how dead infants and children were to be treated, and how one should act in response to the loss of a child, and for how long one should mourn. Ancient Roman practice forbade parents formally to mourn children who died under the age of three (Carroll 2006:169). Nevertheless, the laws do not tell us about actually felt emotions, and need not be a perfect reflection on how things really were. Rules from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD describe that for infants less than a year old there was no formal mourning. For infants up to three years there was only a short time of mourning called *sublugetur*. The mourning period increased gradually up to the full period of ten months, from the age of ten years the mourning period was as for adults (Rawson 2005:346). Around the year AD 100 Plutarch wrote in *Moralia, Consolatio ad uxorem* (612a) that offerings were not brought to those who died in infancy, nor were customary rituals for the dead done, because infants had no part in this world and the laws did not allow mourning for those of such an age.

The Roman poet Juvenal wrote about the practice of inhuming rather than cremating infants (*Sat.* 15.149) ‘... a baby is buried in the ground, too young for the pyre’s flame’, and ‘Some babe – by fate’s inexorable doom, just shewn on earth, and hurried to the tomb’ (*Sat.* 15.193). Pliny (*HN* 7.72) wrote that ‘among all nations, it is customary not to cremate a person who dies before his teeth comes through’ and ‘Children cut their first teeth after six months’ (*HN* 7.68). Pliny also wrote that the child did not possess a soul until the age of teething (*HN* 7.15). Cicero stated that the death of babies were not normally mourned: ‘If a child dies young, one should console himself easily’ [...] ‘If he dies in the cradle, one doesn’t even pay attention’ (Golden 1988:155). Cicero’s daughter Tullia’s first child was premature and did not survive. Cicero wrote that he was grateful that Tullia came through the birth safely, but did not mention the death of the child (Rawson 2005:96). Aristotle wrote about infants that ‘Most are carried off before the seventh day’ (*Historia Animalium* VII), and

Seneca the younger wrote to a man who had lost his son that ‘... grieving for a young child is pointless; such a loss is a sting, not real pain ...’ (Hope 2009:134). Quotations such as these, as well as the location of some infant burials, has lead to theories that the Romans did not care when their children died or that the life of an infant was worth less than the life of an older child. As mortality rate was high for infants, it has been implied that the Roman parents could not afford to invest much love and affection in a child that might not survive infancy.

Sometimes the Classical texts correspond with the archaeological evidence. The archaeological material shows that infants buried at early Roman cemeteries were usually inhumed when the majority were cremated, and infants are often found in or near buildings, though they are often older than 40 days (Pearce 2001:127). Other examples show that the ideals were not always followed as regards grief and mourning, grave furniture, location, and rites. How the Roman parents mourned for their children is a study of the interactions between ideals and realities (Hope 2009:137). The formal mourning rules might have been intended to help people to structure their public lives and might have been more relevant for people with public responsibilities (Rawson 2005:347). It is essential to recognize and deconstruct modern ideas of the infant and young child, in order to avoid inadvertently creating false universal or essentialist ideas about infancy and childhood that are then used wrongly when examining past cultures and societies (Scott 1999:24). An infant seems to be considered a child at the age of talking and walking, or when the child cut his milk teeth (Philpott 1991:101). By the time of walking and talking, the child would have started learning how to behave as a member of the social group and the cultural roles and activities. This learning would go on through childhood, but many infants would not survive the birth, or die shortly after. This would bereave the parents the opportunity to see their children grow up to become full members of the society. Many parents would see their children die and although the ideals might have told them not to show anguish and distress, one can imagine that repeated pregnancies and loss of infants and children might have had some psychological impact on the parents.

Not only are the words *infant*, *child* and *childhood* socially created categories with meanings that vary from culture to culture and through time, but also the word *family*. The modern western meaning of the word is not universal, which can be applied to historical societies. Susanne Dixon (1992:2) writes that the Roman word *familia* was rarely used by the Romans in the sense of kin, but more often referred to the collection of slaves and freed slaves

attached to a married couple, and that Romans generally lived for most of their life in nuclear households, but not in the modern urban meaning. The household would often include slaves, boarders, apprentices, and other relatives. If one of the parents died, it was normal to remarry. Children could be sent away from home to work, or free the mothers in order for them to be able to work, if the family was poor. The children of wealthy families could be sent away to be educated. It was not uncommon for children to become orphans because their mothers died giving birth, and their fathers could die early because of military activity. As immigrants came from all the provinces of the Empire to Roman Britain, it is impossible to make a single definition of a typical Romano-British family. The Roman way of life might have been the norm, with the Roman ideal of life to be followed (Allason-Jones 2007:273). Writings by Cicero and Seneca about how one should console oneself easily if a young child died will be seen as harsh and cynical in today's world, but might have been practical in a time when the chance of losing an infant was high.

### **Epitaphs to infants and children**

There are evidence of grief and sorrow over dead infants and children that contradict the Roman ideals expressed in the texts and laws. Even the infamous emperor Nero was said to be devastated when his infant daughter died (Hope 2009:138). There are few epitaphs set up to infants, but some very clearly show that also very young children were grieved and commemorated:

*To Aemilia Cornelia, daughter of Gaius. Scribonia Maxima set this up to a very distinguished girl, who lived 45 days (CIL 6, 1334).*

*To Tiberius Claudius Soterichus, son of Tiberius, of the Camilia voting tribe, who lived two years, 11 months, ten days and four hours. Tiberius Claudius Soterichus made this, a most unhappy father tortured by eternal sorrow (CIL 6, 15268).*

*To the spirits of the dead. Lucius Cassius Tacitus (set this up) to his son, Vernaculus, who lived nine days (CIL 13, 8375).*

The ninth day after a boy was born and the eighth day after the birth of a girl was called the *dies lustricus*, and on this day a party would have been held for family and friends,

a sacrifice would be made, and the child would be given a name (Dixon 1992:101). Birthdays were celebrated as rituals, and part of a child's socialization would have been to learn this ritual and develop a sense of self (Rawson 2005:135). More epitaphs were put up to older children, and more to boys than to girls up until about the age of ten.

*Here lies Optatus, a child noble and dutiful. I pray that his ashes may become violets and roses and that the Earth, who is his mother now, rest lightly on him, who in life weighed heavily on no man (CIL 9, 3184).*

*To the spirits of the departed Lollia Attica died aged 12 years. Lollia Onesime made this for a very dutiful daughter (CIL 3, 5618).*

Older children were often referred to as very dutiful or devoted in epitaphs, and younger children could be given a maturity beyond their years, seen as the potential adults they would never become (Hope 2009:140), as the little girl Aemilia Cornelia, who is described as very distinguished although she lived only 45 days. Also iconographic representations of children on Roman altars, sarcophagi, and funerary monuments tend to illustrate the children as older than they were according to the inscriptions, as described by Diana Kleiner (1977), maybe to illustrate activities that the child would have done had it not died. This type of commemoration was relatively normal in Italy, especially around Rome, but not as much elsewhere (Dixon 1992:99). Most people did not have the resources to raise monuments and subsequently the archaeological material offers access to a much larger proportion of the population (Pearce 2001:126). No grave monuments are found in Winchester and in a number of other *civitas* capitals, but several are found in places like York and London where Roman military and administrative personnel were based (Ottaway 1996:78). Life is sometimes represented as a journey on funerary monuments. This journey involves a starting point, turning points, and a finish post. If a child died, it lost the opportunity to go through the variety of stages and experiences which might otherwise have been expected (Rawson 2005:135). The child would not have been fully socialized into the society.

## Socialization of Roman children in Britain

Members of every culture create and define children through the process of socialization (Baxter 2005b:79). The theory of socialization can be used to identify patterning in the material culture associated with children in mortuary context. As part of the socialization process, children are taught the acceptable locations for different behaviours, such as eating, sleeping, working, and playing. Adults socialize children in the use of space by encouraging or restricting them to certain areas, and discouraging or prohibiting them from others (Spencer *et al.* 1989:107-8). Space is strongly influenced by cultural factors and children learn as part of their social development not to use space in a random fashion (Baxter 2005a:60), although they explore the physical world, engage with the environment, and test its possibilities (Moore 1986:11) and sometimes they do not do as they are told. The finds from cemeteries are associated with graves and are not likely to provide evidence of how children lived outside the adult world. They might have used the cemetery as a playground, but the archaeological material will be from the graves and hence be the result of adults' decisions. These decisions will nevertheless be based on ideas of the process of socialization, where the age of the dead child would have been of importance.

Total number in each age group:		%
1 Neonatal - 6 months	26	18
2 7 months - 1 year (and ca. 2), and infants	24	16
3 2 years - 7, and infant/child	49	34
4 8 - 12, and children	29	20
5 13 - 20, and sub-adults	18	12
Sum	146	100

**Table 1. The total number of infant and child burials within each constructed age group.**

*Table 1* demonstrates the number of burials within each constructed age group from the Lankhills cemetery; the intact, partly excavated, and the destroyed graves. The two double graves where adults had been buried with infants are not counted in this table. Clarke used the terms neonatal, infant, child, infant/child, and sub-adult, when aging some of the burials. As a number of the graves had been destroyed by other burials, as well as many of the skeletons were badly preserved, estimates were used when determining the age. These have been put in

the age group that they would most likely belong. When direct ages have not been given, a middle number has been used.

The first age group contain the newborns and those who lived for up to six months. Children in this group are unable to care for themselves and they require warmth, regular feeding, comforting, and protection. Around the age of six months, children are usually able to sit alone, and they cut their first teeth, which according to Pliny was the time when the child also got a soul. Age group 2 is for children from seven months and up to two years, and those categorized as infants. During this period, the child would have started to talk and walk. The division between the second and third age group is set at the age of two; those aged ca. two (i.e. those who possibly could be less than two) are in age group 2, while those aged two and a half years are in age group 3. This splitting of the groups is chosen because, although the development of children differs from child to child, most children have all their milk teeth by the time they are two and a half years. This might have been an important factor regarding the burial rites. The accuracy of this can be argued, but it will be sufficient for this analysis. When the child is between two and seven years old, as in the age group 3, children interact increasingly with their surroundings. They become less independent of their parents, and other adults and children will become more important in the socialization process. At the age around 6-7 children start to lose the milk teeth and get permanent teeth, which might have been seen as a new stage of childhood. Age group 4 include children aged 8-12, a pre-pubertal period leading up to the age when they could legally enter marriage. Age group 5 is for young people up to 20 years, some of whom probably died giving birth to a new generation of children.

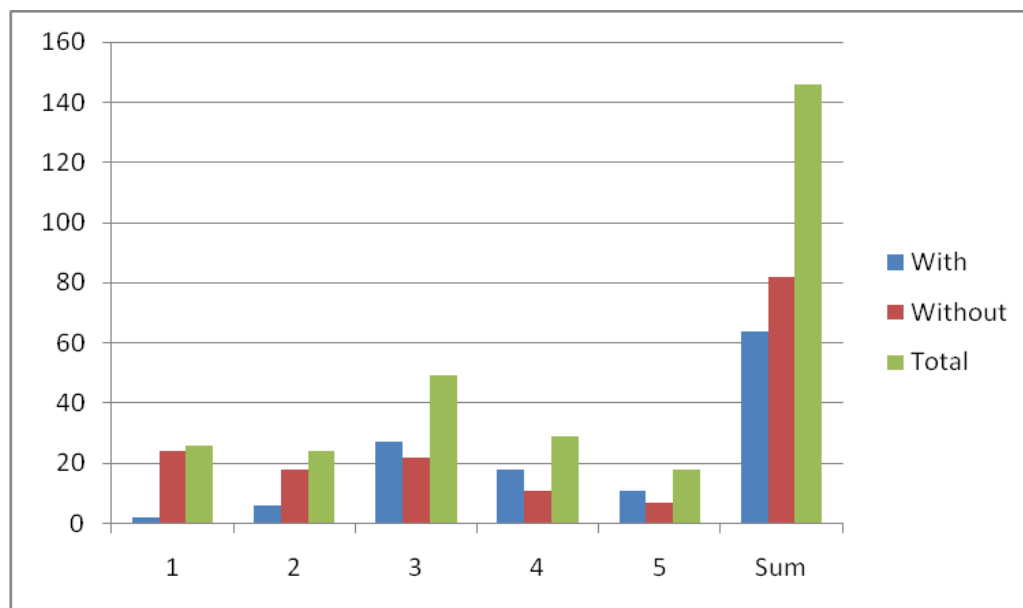
As Clarke only counted the graves that were intact or partly excavated, i.e. the graves where the skeleton was undisturbed or partly undisturbed (partly cut away by later burials, or partly outside the excavation area), he counted 37 infants of two years or less, 46 children between two and 15, and 16 sub-adults under 20 years (Clarke 1979:123). That means 13 of the graves estimated to be of infants and 34 of the graves in the other age groups were destroyed. The destroyed graves are counted in the table here, however, as they might be of importance as evidence of treatment of the graves of infants and children. *Table 1* shows that there are quite even numbers in each group, with the exception of a rise in group 3 and slight fall in group 5. The fall in group 5 can be explained by the fact that quite a few individuals in Clarke's catalogue are aged simply as adults, and are not counted in this analysis, but they

could in reality be around 17-20 years old. According to Clarke, the age of death among the adult population was low. Although the preliminary examination slightly underestimated age, the evidence suggests that life in Roman Winchester was not overwhelmingly long (Clarke 1979:123).

Cemeteries from Roman Britain often contain too few infants and children to represent a cross-section of the population. According to *Table 1*, there are a few more individuals in age group 1 (26) than in group 2 (24). This is interesting considering the number of infants buried in pits or rubbish deposits in Roman Britain, or infant burials associated with buildings. Nearly all the Late Iron Age and early Roman cemeteries have a low proportion of infant burials. One exception is the Hyde Street cemetery in Winchester where inhumed infant burials account for more than 40% of the aged burials (Pearce 2001:134). Here 76 probably newborn infant burials were found (Ottaway 1996:80). At one of two other Winchester cemeteries with a high ratio of infants, Victoria Road, dated AD 50-200, 92 of 172 burials were cremations and 80 were inhumations. Of the inhumations, only 12 were adults and 68 were children or infants (Goodburn 1978:465). At the other one, the Oram's Arbour, New Road, over half of the 22 burials were infants (Goodburn 1976:371). The 4<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries at Dunstable in Bedfordshire and possible Poundbury 3 in Dorset are also cemeteries with a high number of infant burials (Philpott 1991:98). John Pearce has made a table showing the percentage of individuals less than one year from 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman cemeteries in Britain, where osteological analysis were used to calculate age. This table shows that the proportion of infant burials is somewhat higher than in the early Roman period, but for the most part account for less than 10% of the burials (Pearce 2001:135). The three Winchester cemeteries and also an area in the Bathgate cemetery in Cirencester appear to have been reserved for infant or child burials as the concentration of infants is high. In other cemeteries in Roman Britain, as for example one of the London Road cemeteries in Gloucester, dated from the 1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century, infants and newborns were under-represented (Márquez-Grant and Loe 2008:33). Here, only one single infant below the age of two years, seven children under the age of twelve years, and three aged 13-17 years were recorded, among 64 individuals. At a nearby cemetery, also at London Road, Gloucester, just two infants among 74 individuals were found (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:138, 144). The 2<sup>nd</sup> century cemeteries Trentholme Drive in York, Derby Racecourse in Derbyshire, and West Tenter Street in London have also low number of infant burials. It has been suggested that there was

a change in the burial practice some time during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century resulting in more infant burials (Philpott 1991:98-9), but some cemeteries, like the Hyde Street, Victoria Road, and London Road, do not follow that pattern. Even though the number of infant burials in Winchester cemeteries is high, there are also burials in other locations. Excavations in Winchester in the 1990s revealed 36 Roman infant graves within the city walls (Esmonde Cleary 2000:135).

## Grave furniture at Lankhills



**Table 2. The distribution of grave furniture within each age group.**

The number of grave furniture at Lankhills compared to other contemporary Romano-British cemeteries is exceptionally high, which is why this cemetery has been used in a number of analysis (Gowland 2001:158). The blue columns in *Table 2* show how many of the graves in each group that contained grave furniture, the red columns show how many of the graves that were without grave furniture, and the green columns show the total number of graves in each age group. The grave numbers used in this analysis are the running numbers from the catalogue. Differentiations between age groups and the stages in the socialization process might be detected by studying the types, quantities, material, and positions of grave furniture within each group. The dates of the graves are constructed by using the earliest and latest date given by Clarke to calculate a middle number, and then arranged in groups, as shown in *Table 3*, with the number of graves in each date group.



Date groups		Number of graves in each group
1	0-315	1
2	316-350	79
3	351-385	32
4	386-410	34
Sum		146

**Table 3.** The number of graves in each date group.

### Graves of neonatals and infants in age group 1

Grave no.	Age	Date group	Grave furniture
294	6 months	4	Hobnails (and child)
463	Neo.	3	Coins

**Table 4.** The graves with grave furniture in the first age group.

In the first group (neonatal - 6 months) two graves (294 and 463, as shown in *Table 4*) of 26 possibly contained grave furniture. Grave 294 (dated AD 390-410) is a double burial that contained a child of around six years and an infant of around six months. The child lay on its left side with bent legs, facing the infant. The hobnails in this grave were found among the toe bones of the older child, therefore the question is whether the nails should be associated with the infant, or the child, or both. As the majority of infants at Lankhills were buried without grave furniture, and several children in age group 3 were buried with hobnails, the child might be seen as the receiver of the nails in this grave, and not the infant. The grave is nevertheless listed in this age group because, as discussed below, the furniture could be intended for both individuals. Grave 463 (dated AD 350-370) was completely destroyed by another grave. It had belonged to a newborn infant. Only two frontal bones remained of the skeleton, both discoloured by bronze. Clarke writes (1979:93) that two coins (dated AD 350-364) found in the fill of the grave had without doubt originally been on the forehead of the dead child. A third coin was found nearby during surface cleaning and could have belonged to this grave as well. Two more graves contained infants and grave goods, but these were unquestionably the graves of adults with infants buried with them and are not counted in the table. One was grave 38 of a 25-30 years old male, buried with a glass bottle and a pottery flagon, and a premature baby. The other one was grave 79 of an adult female, buried with a pottery flagon and a newborn infant. Both graves were dated to AD 310-350. Both in urban and rural cemeteries a

number of infants are recorded with adult burials, usually in formal cemetery areas. Some of these are almost certainly mother and child who died within short time of each other, perhaps during or soon after childbirth, or through disease. At the Thames Valley rural cemeteries, all from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, like at Cassington, Stanton Harcourt, Curbridge and Radley, all in Oxfordshire, almost all infants were buried with an adult, usually females (Philpott 1991:99). Quite a few infants in other cemeteries are buried with adult males, as at Cirencester where adults accompanied by infants were with one exception males (McWhirr *et al.* 1982:110). In the Arras cemeteries in Humberside, both children and infants were almost lacking except when they were buried with an adult (Whimster 1981:89).

## Graves of infants in age group 2

In the second age group (7 months – up to 2 years and those described by Clarke as infants), six were buried with grave furniture of a total of 24 (*Table 5*). According to Pliny, writing in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, an infant below the age of about six months when the teeth came through were given different burial treatment than the infants with teeth. This division might still be visible in later cemeteries, where inhumation was practiced.

Grave no.	Age	Date group	Grave furniture
91	9 months	2	Hobnails, pottery
105	1 year	2	Pottery, pers. ornaments
120	Ca. 2 years	3	Hobnails
289	12 months	4	Coins
370	9 months	3	Coin
450	9 months	4	Glass, pewter, canines

**Table 5. The grave furniture in the graves in the second age group.**

The grave furniture referred to in *Table 5* consists of a variety of objects and are not as uniform as expected, even within the same date groups. The infant in grave 91 was buried with hobnails and a pottery jug, all placed left of the feet outside the coffin. The one-year-old in grave 105 belongs to the same date group, but was buried with a pottery beaker, one shale bracelet, and one iron bracelet found near the legs. The beaker was smashed, which can have happened, possibly deliberately, at the burial as part of the funerary ritual. Graves 120 and 370 did also belong within the same date group. The two-year-old in grave 120, who had been decapitated, was buried with one group of hobnails that lay to the right of the feet inside the coffin, while the infant of 9 months in grave 370 had a bronze coin (dated AD 364-375) in or near the left hand. This infant was also buried in a coffin. Graves 289 and 450 are in the latest

date group and are also furnished quite differently. In grave 289, a one-year-old was buried with three bronze coins (dated AD 388-402, AD 330-341, AD 364-378). The teeth and mandible were discoloured by bronze, so the coins would have been originally placed in or on the mouth. This infant was not buried in a coffin, as opposed to the nine-months-old infant buried in grave 450, which was a very shallow grave; only around 10 cm. Two pierced canines from an unidentifiable animal lay to the left of the feet inside the coffin. Canine teeth are commonly found as pendants in Anglo-Saxon graves in Britain, but are unusual in Roman graves. Pewter and glass fragments were also found, and Clarke interprets these objects as pendants; the pewter would have been a disc with a glass centrepiece (Clarke 1979:91). Clarke considered this grave to be Anglo-Saxon of Germanic origin as teeth like this is very seldom found in Roman graves. They appear in Anglo-Saxon graves, among other related types of pendants such as a pierced eagle talon, a pierced horse tooth, and pierced boars' tusks (Clarke 1979:176, 296-7). Other amulets are found in Britain; at Verulam Hills Field in St. Albans, an infant boy of about two years in a tiled cist was buried with a coin of Septimius Severus in the mouth, and a box at the feet. The box held beads, a baton, phallic amulet, an ox vertebra, and *Murex* shells; a Mediterranean species of mollusc (Anthony 1968:41-7) (Fig. 4).



**Fig. 4. An infant's grave from Verulam Hills Field, St. Albans.**

Pierced coins are not common in inhumations, but a coin of Allectus that had been pierced and probably used as a pendant was buried with a child at Poundbury, Dorset, and another one was found in a lead coffined child burial from Mansell Street in London. The rite is described as immigrant because of the few found cases and because some of the coins found are Greek (Philpott 1991:162).

### Graves of children in age group 3

In the third age group (from 2-7 years and those described by Clarke as infant/child) more children were buried with grave furniture (27) than without (22). The children in this group would have had teeth and been able to talk and walk, and would be considered fully human by writers of Classical texts. As the process of teething marked a distinction in burial treatment, there might have been some sort of ritual associated with the shedding of the milk teeth and cutting the new teeth, which might be seen in the graves.

Grave no.	Age	Date group	Grave furniture
2	2-3	2	Hobnails, pottery
3	6	2	Pottery
40	Inf./child	3	Personal ornament, glass, pewter
71	5	2	Pottery
85	3-5	3	Hobnails, personal ornament
102	Inf./child	3	Hobnails, personal ornament
122	6	3	Pottery, personal ornament
132	3	2	Pottery
164	7	2	Coin
178	4-8	2	Pottery
183	5	3	Personal ornament
184	4	2	Hobnails, iron needle
185	4	2	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament
188	5	2	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament
210	5	2	Hobnails, pottery
238	2 1/2	3	Hobnails, personal ornament
240	5-8	3	Hobnails
290	4	4	Comb
294	6	4	Hobnails (and infant)
317	Inf./child	4	Hobnails, animals (bank voles)
323	5-6	3	Pottery, personal ornament, coins, glass
327	3-7	3	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament
333	3 1/2	4	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament, glass, comb
337	3	2	Personal ornament, glass
372	3	4	Coin
385	5-7	4	Glass
390	Inf./child	4	Hobnails, glass

**Table 6. The graves with grave furniture in age group 3.**

The categories of grave furniture found with infants and children at Lankhills are the same as the categories found in adults' graves, with some additional categories in the latter. With

increasing age, the amount of grave furniture is more similar to older individuals. The graves in age group 3 are furnished with hobnails, pottery, personal ornaments, coins, glass, and combs, for the most part (*Table 6*). Hobnails are found in 14 of the graves in the third age group, only two of which have no other grave furniture. One of these two is the double grave mentioned above, with one infant and one child, where the hobnails most likely belonged to the six-year-old child. The other one, grave 240 (dated AD 330-370/90), is the grave of a child aged 5-8 years, who was buried in a coffin (Clarke 1979:55).

Personal ornaments consist of two main classes of jewellery; items worn primarily for decoration and items that were functional as well as decorative. Items that are primarily decorative are for example bracelets, finger-rings, ear-rings, beads and necklaces. Hairpins, amulets, signet rings, and brooches are functional as well as decorative (Philpott 1991:128). Jewellery was worn by all levels in society, and the fashion changed over the centuries. Personal ornaments are often linked with female burials, but caution should be exercised in gender attribution on the grounds of furniture alone (Philpott 1991:132). Burials with worn bracelets and other types of personal ornament are often found in larger urban cemeteries (Philpott 1991:147). Bracelets were frequently used from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and a vast increase in site finds indicates that the popularity of the bracelet in Roman Britain grew in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century, as seen in the burials (Philpott 1991:143).

Twelve of the graves in the third age group were furnished with personal ornaments; 11 of which have also other categories of furniture. The twelfth, grave 183, was dated AD 350-370, and was of a child of about 5 years. The child was buried in a coffin. It (probably she) lay on its back, and a pile of 14 bracelets and two sets of beads were found to the right of the knees inside the coffin. Of the 14 bracelets, 9 were made of bronze, two of ivory, two of bone, and one of shale. One of the sets of beads had a bronze fastening and bronze wire links. Two of the bracelets had been threaded through at least some of the others (Clarke 1979:49). The same types of bracelets were also found in adult graves, and bracelets were the most common type of personal ornament at the Lankhills cemetery. They were found in 31 intact graves, in 17 of which there were no other ornaments (Clarke 1979:152). At Butt Road, Colchester, bracelets were worn in the case of adults but not in the case of children. Probably all of the children were buried in the west-east orientated cemetery from the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Two of the children's graves here include possible foreign beads. One of these, Grave 1, is dated to the mid-late 4<sup>th</sup> century and has a prism-shaped glass bead possibly of

Sarmatian origin, along with other beads of foreign origin and seven unworn armlets. The other child's grave, grave 16, was of a six-year-old and contained a gold-in-glass bead in a necklace or bracelet and three unworn bracelets (Crummy 1983:33-6). In this age group the material of the bracelets at Lankhills were bronze, iron, bone, ivory, and shale. One child, aged ca 3, in grave 337 (dated AD 330-350, a quite deep step-grave), was buried with a silver finger-ring. The ring was not worn, but lay in one of three piles of ten bracelets of bone, shale, and bronze (Clarke 1979:71). Only one child, aged five to twelve years, at the London Road cemetery in Gloucester was buried with personal ornament; an iron finger ring (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:87). This type of ring was in use mainly during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, and according to Pliny (*HN* 33.4-8), iron rings were appropriate for the ordinary citizen while gold rings were technically reserved for the senatorial and equestrian classes. The ring found in this grave was incomplete, as the inlaid intaglio was missing, but it is unusual to find intaglios in Romano-British burials probably because they were to be handed down to the heirs (Cool 2008:111). As this child was quite young, it is difficult to say whether there was any heir to receive the intaglio, but it might have been given to a sibling. The ring as a symbolic representation of social status could then follow the owner in the grave, whereas the intaglio would be kept and used to reinforce the ideal of social status to the child next in line.

Clarke makes a distinction between worn and unworn ornaments, treated as separate categories (Clarke 1979:153). The child in grave 183 was most likely not wearing the bracelets at burial, as opposed to the infant/child in grave 40, dated AD 350-370/90. This child was also buried in a coffin, but was buried with a necklace in addition to four bracelets, a glass fragment, and a pewter bowl. The necklace was at the head end of the grave and probably worn at burial, as were the bronze, bone, and iron bracelets found around the bones of the left arm and the bronze bracelet around the bones of the right arm (Clarke 1979:29). The personal ornaments that were found in graves 85, 102, 122, 183, 185, 188, 238, 327, and 337, were probably unworn at burial, while they probably were worn in graves 40, 323, and 333. In grave 323 (dated AD 350-370), a child of 5-6 years was buried in a coffin inside of which there were many objects; a bronze pin, fragments of glass, bronze and leather that had probably been a headband, a quantity of beads, a bronze bracelet near the right hand, nine bracelets of bronze, shale and iron round the left wrist, remains of leather and textile, and two pottery beakers. Shards of pottery were also found in the fill of the grave, and three coins (dated AD 330-341 and AD 350-364) and pottery flagons were found at the edge of the grave

and interpreted as surface-offerings. Part of a small mound was preserved over this grave (Clarke 1979:67). The child in grave 333 (dated AD 390-410) was probably around 3 ½ years, and was buried in a coffin with hobnails, a bone comb, a quantity of beads, a glass jug, a pottery beaker, and two bronze and one ivory bracelet around the left arm bone (Clarke 1979:71). This child has probably been re-aged by Gowland, as she writes (2001:160) that no individuals below the age of four years were buried with worn items of personal ornaments, and that none of the females aged 18-24 years were buried with worn jewellery; they are all deposited by the side of the body. Younger individuals were mostly buried with the unworn ornaments near the legs or feet, while adults were often buried with the unworn ornaments next to the head. This is not an overall incident, however, as the individuals under 18 years at Colchester for the most part were buried with unworn ornaments placed in piles next to the skull (Gowland 2001:162).

Quite a lot of information is lost where the excavation was done in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the level of site recording was less detailed than today, and there is now little or no information about the location of the jewellery in the graves or the order of individual beads. For example, a grave from Walmgate in York that was excavated in 1892, contained over 600 small coral beads, nearly 300 blue glass beads, 92 jet beads, approximately 80 freshwater pearls, 16 amber beads, and 8 of green glass. At display, the loose beads have been separated out by colour to make three necklaces of very different lengths, a bracelet of pearls and amber beads and a ring or loop of green beads. The lack of information from the excavation makes it impossible to tell whether this is correct or not. A random threading could be highly possible, as shown in a grave from South Shields where the correct positioning of 71 of 100 beads from a short necklace or bracelet could be recovered. These were thread in no apparent order, as two necklaces from a grave at Winchester and one from Poundbury where shapes, sizes and colours are mixed (Croom 2007:289). In cemetery 3 at Poundbury, Dorset, furnished burials account for less than 5% of the total of 856, but the majority of these are young girls with a collection of personal ornaments, particularly necklaces and bracelets and occasionally a ring (Philpott 1991:147). Women frequently wore jewellery as ornaments, while men usually wore functional items like brooches, although men in some cases were buried with rings and bracelets (Philpott 1991:144). During the Iron Age and 1<sup>st</sup> century, brooches were by far the predominant type of personal ornament in cremations, and they were more likely to occur without other ornament types in the grave. A

child burial with a brooch dated to AD 50-80 was found in a wooden coffin within a two-stone cist at Worth Matravers (Philpott 1991:54). After the conquest, Romanization of burial practice involved other types of personal ornaments than the brooch in the graves. Pins, bracelets, and beads became more common, and by the 1<sup>st</sup> century they begin to appear in combination with one another (Philpott 1991:131).

A six-year-old child in grave 122 (dated AD 350-370) was buried in a coffin, on its back with five bracelets; three of bronze and two of bone, that were placed on or near the left hip in two interlocking piles. The child also had a red potsherd in the left eye socket (Clarke 1979:41), which no one else had. Two children in this age group were buried with coins placed in their faces as the only grave furniture; the child of three years in grave 372 who had a bronze coin (dated AD 388-402) in or near the mouth (Clarke 1979:79), and the seven-year-old child in grave 164, who had a bronze coin (dated AD 330-341) in the right eye-socket (Clarke 1979:47). In all, in 19 intact graves at Lankhills, at least one coin was in or near the mouth and in seven intact graves coins had been placed elsewhere around the skull (Clarke 1979:148-9), which shows that both adult and children could be buried like this. At the nearby cemetery Hyde Street, one cremation burial, dated to the mid-first century, contained a coin, as did two infant burials. These coins were irregular issues of Claudius and were likely money paid to the army, which could mean that the infants were children of soldiers (Ottaway 1996:80).

In this age group, 12 children were buried with pottery vessels, four of which had pottery vessels as the only grave furniture. These four, graves 3, 71, 132, and 178, were dated AD 310-350. Two graves (2 and 210) contained hobnails in addition to pottery and were dated within the same years. All six were buried in coffins.

Grave no.	Age	Date group	Pottery vessel	Position in the grave	Grave depth
2	2/3	2	1 flagon	Left of feet, outside coffin?	45 cm
3	Ca. 6	2	2 beakers	Right and left of skull, in coffin?	45 cm
71	Ca. 5	2	1 jar	Right of skull, outside coffin?	90 cm
132	Ca. 3	2	1 beaker	Left of feet, in coffin?	50 cm
178	4/8	2	1 flagon	Right of feet, in coffin?	25 cm
210	Ca. 5	2	1 flagon, 1 beaker	Outside foot of coffin	90 cm

**Table 7. The position of pottery vessels in graves in age group 3.**



As seen in *Table 7*, the vessels in these graves were placed either at the head or at the feet, inside or outside the coffin. In grave 185 (dated AD 310-370), a pottery flagon was placed on its side, by the right knee of the four-year-old child, inside the coffin. The depth of this grave was 70 cm. and it was also furnished with hobnails and a bronze object, which Clarke describes as a possible strap-fitting or belt-fastening (Clarke 1979:49). Among the adults, belt-fastenings were associated with males (Clarke 1979:151). In grave 323, mentioned above, two pottery beakers were found in the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin and a substantial part of a large bowl was found in the filling of the grave along with other sherds of pottery. A pottery flagon stood at the head of the grave, and sherds from a larger flagon were also found by the small mound that was preserved over this grave. The flagons may have been surface-offerings to the grave (Clarke 1979:67). In grave 327, a bowl was found overturned over the pelvis; it might have been placed like this, or fallen from above the coffin. Sherds of a bowl were also found in the fill, and it was probably on the surface when the grave was dug. The grave belonged to a child aged 3-7 years and was furnished with hobnails, four bronze bracelets, and two bone bracelets in addition to the pottery. The bracelets were not worn, but found in a pile on or near the left side of the chest (Clarke 1979:69). In grave 333, a pottery beaker was found by the right foot (Clarke 1979:71). The graves 323, 327, and 333 are dated later than the graves in *Table 7*, and according to Clarke, few if any graves dated after AD 350 had vessels placed outside the coffin (Clarke 1979:168).

Vessels of other material than pottery were found in some of the graves in age group 3. In the before mentioned grave 40 there was also a pewter bowl near the right foot, inside the coffin. Grave 333 contained a glass jug by the left foot besides the pottery beaker by the right foot, as well as hobnails, a bone comb, beads, and three bracelets, probably worn at burial. A glass beaker was found to the right of the skull, outside the coffin, in grave 337 that belonged to a child of ca. three years. The handle of a glass bottle was also found, in a pile that also consisted of two bracelets and a silver finger-ring. A glass flask was the only grave furniture in grave 385, which was of a child aged 5-7 years. The glass flask lay to the left of the feet, probably inside the coffin. Grave 390, of the same period as grave 385 (date group 4), contained an infant/child buried with hobnails and a glass cup that lay to the right of the skull inside the coffin (Clarke 1979:81).

The pottery jar is the most common type of cinerary container for adults in Roman Britain, and beakers and small jars sometimes contain child or infant cremations, like the

child cremation in a jar found close to House XIX within the town walls at Caerwent, the Roman town *Venta Silurum*, in Wales. Pottery vessels in inhumations appear to be more common in the former cremation-using area of the southeast than elsewhere (Philpott 1991:30, 40). Throughout the Roman period, vessels were the most common form of grave furniture. At Springhead, Dorset, an infant was buried with a 3<sup>rd</sup> century pewter vessel (Penn 1968:170). In Wall, Staffordshire, a child cremation excavated in 1927 contained one glass and six pottery vessels, as well as personal ornaments and possessions. Another grave contained one complete jar with the cremated remains of a very young child, two wooden boxes, three flagons, one jug and the top of a glass bottle. Both graves were dated to mid 1<sup>st</sup> century to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. At Mancetter, a village on the outskirts of Atherstone in North Warwickshire, an infant cremation with two pots from late 1<sup>st</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century was found under a road (Philpott 1991:39). The St Stephen casket, found in 1984 at St Albans, contained a child cremation with four glass vessels and four coins (Philpott 1991:14). Vessels of pottery, glass, or pewter were associated with the burial in 83 intact and two partially excavated graves at Lankhills, and also in one destroyed grave, and found in the fill of three graves. Of the intact and partially excavated graves, 64 graves contained one vessel, 18 graves contained two vessels, and two graves contained three vessels. One grave was furnished with five vessels (Clarke 1979:149). At the London Road cemetery in Gloucester, of the 64 inhumation burials within the area of excavation 17 were provided with grave furniture. Six graves were furnished with pottery vessels, all with one each. One of the vessels contained the partial skeleton of a domestic fowl, but evidence of contents had not survived in the other vessels (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:25). Some of the vessels found at Lankhills may have contained food or drink, but Clarke suggests that none of the vessels did, because only three are associated with animal remains and some were broken at burial, placed overturned, or contained coins (Clarke 1979:149). The vessels might then have had a symbolic meaning, perhaps as symbolic containers for food, or the type of vessel might have been of importance. An example of the latter is from Vroulia, a small site at the southern tip of Rhodes, which was occupied ca. 625-575 BC. Here 43 children were inhumed in vases. These vases can be divided into four types; jug, cooking pot, hydria, and amphora. A connection between age at death and type of vessel can be seen, with the youngest infants buried in jugs and the oldest children in amphorae with grave furniture (Morris 2001:174-82). To see if the same type of pattern can be seen at Lankhills, I have assembled the types of vessels in a table. *Table 8* shows the pottery vessels

at Lankhills, arranged in number of each type within the age groups, to see if there is a connection between the type of vessel provided in the graves, and the age of the person in the grave. Flagons were used for holding liquids and have narrow necks and globular bodies with one or more handles. A jug is like a flagon, but with a spout. Jars can be narrow or wide-mouthed, with handles. Beakers were drinking vessels of various forms, and bowls can have a variety of forms, but are wide-mouthed.

Pottery	Age group 1	Age group 2	Age group 3	Age group 4	Age group 5	Sum
Jug		1 3%		1 3%	1 3%	3 9%
Beaker		1 3%	7 20%	3 9%	1 3%	12 34%
Flagon			7 20%	1 3%	3 9%	11 31%
Jar			1 3%	1 3%	1 3%	3 9%
Bowl			1 3%	3 9%	2 6%	6 17%
Sum		2 6%	16 46%	9 26%	8 23%	35 100%

**Table 8. Pottery vessels in graves in all the age groups. The numbers are rounded off, which makes the per cents to some extent imprecise as most numbers are rounded up.**

Table 8 shows that the types of vessels alone do not represent a clear age differentiation, although there are more beakers and flagons in age group 3 than in any of the other age groups. Pottery jugs, for instance, are found in both the grave of a 9-month-old infant, an 8-year-old child, and in the grave of a sub adult of about 17-22 years. 15 individuals in the third age group are buried with some type of vessels of a total of 27 graves with grave furniture, while 9 individuals are buried with vessels in the fourth age group out of 18 who were buried with furniture. In the fifth age group, there were 11 graves with furniture, and six of these contained vessels. All the categories of pottery are found within the fourth and fifth age group, and the pottery types that are found within the second age group are also found within the other age groups (with the exception of the first age group, where no vessels were found, and jugs that were not found in age group 3). Clarke notes that most graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments belong to children, all but one certainly female on the evidence of the ornaments. Almost all the child graves with worn or unworn personal ornaments belong to girls according to the types of ornament, and all but one grave with vessels and unworn personal ornaments belong to girls or young women (Clarke 1979:173).

In all the graves at Lankhills, 24 glass vessels or fragments of vessels were found, as well as two glass hairpins, a mosaic tessera, game counters, a headband with glass ornaments, and numerous glass beads. Only three graves contained more than one piece of glass (except

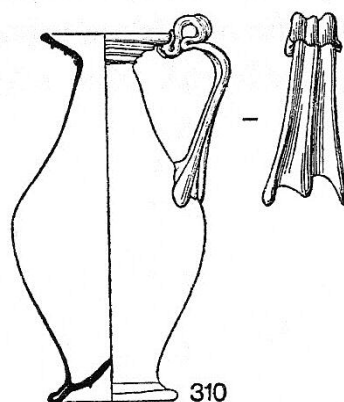
beads) and no grave contained more than one complete glass vessel. This might indicate that glass was still rare in Britain by the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Harden 1979:209). Of the graves in this catalogue, vessels of glass are found in the graves of individuals in the third and fourth age group, aged around three to eight, with one exception (*Table 9*). Only fragments were found of the glass bowl that was found in grave 100 of a female aged 17-20 years (Clarke 1979:37). It is suggested that twelve of the 24 graves with glass objects (except beads) belong to a group of people from the Danube region that arrived at Lankhills at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Harden 1979:209). Four of these are the graves of children, graves 40, 323, 333, and 336. The glass objects are respectively fragment of a deep bowl, glass fragments that probably were a head band, a jug with ribbed handle (*Fig. 5*), and a game counter.

Glass	Age group 1	Age group 2	Age group 3	Age group 4	Age group 5	Sum
Jug			1			1
Beaker			1			1
Flask			1	1		2
Cup			1	1		2
Bowl			1		1	2
Bottle			1			1
Sum			6	2	1	9

*Table 9.* Glass vessels in graves in all the age groups.

There are clearly more glass vessels in the third age group. Flasks, cups, and bowls are found within more than one age group, for example in grave 136 an 8-year-old was buried with a glass cup, as was an infant/child in grave 390. Three graves at Lankhills contained bottles of a dolphin-handled type; two were in the graves of males aged 25-30 (dated AD 310-350), and in grave 337 (dated AD 330-350), a three-year-old was buried with the handle of such a bottle. This was a step-grave that also contained a glass beaker, 10 bracelets, a silver finger-ring, and beads, which indicate that the child was female. One of the males was also buried in a step-grave, and a premature baby was buried outside the foot of the coffin (grave 38) (Clarke 1979:29). 17 step-graves (an unusually large pit that had been reduced in size half-way down) were found at Lankhills, 14 belonging to adults and three to children (Clarke 1979:134). The step-grave might be a sign of status, as might the glass objects (Clarke 1979:191). Three one-handed flasks were found; one was found without connection to any graves, a second in grave 385 (dated AD 370-410) that belonged to a child aged 5-7, and the third was in the grave (dated AD 390-410) of a male aged 20-25 (Clarke 1979:75). All the

flasks were green and only the one found during rescue-observation was intact. The other two were broken and mended, with many bubbles and black impurities in the glass (Harden 1979:219).



**Fig. 5. Glass jug with ribbed handle in grave 333.**

#### **Graves of children in age group 4**

Of the 29 graves in the fourth age group (8-12 and those described by Clarke as children), 18 were provided with grave furniture (*Table 10*).

Grave no.	Age	Date group	Grave furniture
12	Child	2	Hobnails
46	8-9	2	Hobnails
134	8	2	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament (2 shoes)
136	8	3	Pottery, glass cup
155	9-10	2	Hobnails, pottery, personal ornament, comb, spindle-whorl
156	Child	3	Hobnails
172	Child	2	Hobnails, pottery, coin
195	Child	2	Hobnails, pottery
224	9-10	2	Hobnails, pottery
236	Child	3	Pottery, glass flask
268	Child	3	Personal ornament
269	Child	2	Hobnails
276	Child	2	Hobnails, personal ornament
321	Child	3	Pottery, personal ornament, coin
336	Child	3	Pottery, personal ornament, coins, glass counter, spindle-whorl, key
377	10	4	Hobnails
378	8	4	Coins, arrowhead
382	8	4	Coin

**Table 10. Grave furniture in age group 4.**

Five of these graves were provided with hobnails only; the grave numbers 12, 46, 156, 269, and 377. The dates of these graves cover the whole 4<sup>th</sup> century, although some of the graves could not be dated accurately. At Lankhills, hobnails were found in about one-third of the graves, and the number of hobnails in the graves varies between less than ten and 200 at the most (Clarke 1979:322, 370). They were found in 34 of the graves used in this study; in nine graves they were the only grave furniture. Hobnails were rarer in child graves than in adult graves (Clarke 1979:182). Hobnails formed part of heavy shoes (*fig. 6*), though the leather has normally not survived. Shoes are not found in the earliest post-conquest Roman cremations at Colchester and elsewhere. Few cremations with hobnails can be securely dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century but the rite can increasingly be seen in the archaeological material in the late 1<sup>st</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century in predominately native context, which suggest that intact footwear as grave furniture became important among the Romanized native population in the southeast (Philpott 1991:165).



**Fig. 6. Reconstructed hobnailed shoes, on display at the Museum of London.**

Both worn and unworn footwear has been found with inhumations from a number of locations in Roman Britain from about the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century, mostly in the lowland zone with a noticeable concentration in south central England from Dorset to Gloucestershire. During the mid-late 1<sup>st</sup> century metal fittings from footwear begin to appear in graves, but footwear without metal fittings can have been deposited earlier. The rite spread from the rural communities and in the first two centuries AD iron-shod footwear was common among the urban population, as shown by a sample of about 147 shoes from Billingsgate, London, dated to AD 70-160 of which 54% were from nailed shoes (Philpott 1991:165). Hobnails are not found at Trentholme

Drive in York. The low number of excavated Roman-period burials in the north may be some of the reason why there are few burials with iron-shod footwear from the north. Nailed shoes are found in many northern military sites, however, and the lack of them in the northern graves may reflect a genuine regional difference in burial practice (Philpott 1991:172). Strong nailed footwear like the military type of boot (the *caliga*) may have been more useful to the agricultural societies while the lighter studded shoes (the *calceus*) were more often used in the towns and villas (Philpott 1991:171). At Lankhills, a third of the population in the urban cemetery are buried with nailed shoes. The Roman sandal (the *solea*) also had soles made with hobnails and several layers of leather, so the Lankhills people could have been buried with either type (Clarke 1979:322). The variations within different regions are significant, not only over time, and between urban and rural settlements, but also between different types of cemeteries within individual communities.

Shoes were found in three of the graves used in this study (48, 131, and 134), but those would probably be part of the clothing and are not counted as grave furniture. Hobnails, on the other hand, seem to have had a broader function than just clothing and are therefore considered as grave furniture. The hobnails are not only found around the feet, where one would expect to find shoes, but are also found outside the coffin, or in the area of the skull, or in other areas such as near the hips or knees. In two graves (102 and 210), both in the third age group, the hobnails were found near the skull, outside the coffin. Hobnails are found in both two separate piles that indicate that shoes were worn, and in a single pile where the shoes might have been buried together unworn. At Lankhills both men and women were buried with footwear in approximately equal proportions until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, but after about AD 390 women were less likely to be buried with hobnailed footwear. Burials from all other areas in Britain show that about twice as many men as women were buried with hobnails. Children and infant inhumations are rarely furnished with hobnails at all sites except Lankhills (Philpott 1991:169, tab. 35). Some infants are recorded with hobnails at Ridgeon's Garden in Cambridgeshire. Some examples are also found in infant and child cremations at Gatcombe in Somerset, Skeleton Green in Hertfordshire, Densworth in West Sussex and Petty Knowes in Northumberland. During the cremation phase hobnails occurred regularly in richly furnished burials in the southeast. An early double cremation at Petty Knowes contained an adult of 50-60 years and a child of 5-10 years who were buried with hobnails and an *as* of Antonius Pius in a mid 2<sup>nd</sup>-century jar (Philpott 1991:169-70). After the 4<sup>th</sup> century fewer women and

children were buried with hobnails, or the footwear might no longer have metal fittings (Clarke 1979:180). Between the ages two and twelve (including those categorized as infants and children) hobnails are found in 27 graves, and in 7 graves of people aged 15-20 years.

The position of the hobnails in the graves changed over time at Lankhills. Early in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, hobnailed shoes were usually buried some distance from the feet, while later in the century they were usually probably worn or placed carefully over or under the feet. In graves with vessels, hobnails were generally found some distance from the feet, as vessels were more typical in the graves from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Clarke 1979:179). This can clearly be seen in grave 172, dated AD 310-330, where a child was buried in a coffin and the hobnails and pottery bowl were outside the coffin. A coin was inside the coffin, to the right of the hips (Clarke 1979:47). In grave 195, dated 310-350, a child was buried in a coffin, but here the hobnails, a pottery jar, and a pottery bowl were inside the coffin, in the area of the feet (Clarke 1979:51). Also in grave 224 (dated AD 310-340), of a child of 9/10 years, the grave was furnished with hobnails and a pottery beaker. The hobnails were to the left of the feet and the pottery beaker was to the left of the skull; all inside the coffin (Clarke 1979:53).

Hobnails were also found at the London Road cemetery, in 20 inhumation graves. In six of these graves the hobnailed shoes were recorded as representing items of footwear that were worn at burial, others might have been worn, or placed in the grave as furniture (Powell 2008:115). At this cemetery, shoes are deposited as grave furniture in both early cremation graves and later inhumation graves, and also individuals from a mass grave at the cemetery wore hobnailed shoes. All of the individuals were over 18 years. The worn shoes show that there are a number of hobnails in each shoe, so that the relatively low number of hobnails in some graves indicates that some individuals were not buried with whole pairs of shoes, while others apparently had been buried with more than one pair (Powell 2008:116).

In age group 4, the grave furniture apart from hobnails consisted largely of the same categories as in age group 3, except for some few additions. Two children had been buried with possible spindle-whorls (graves 155 and 336), and one had been buried with an arrow (grave 378). Grave 155 (dated AD 310-350/70) was that of a 9/10-year-old. The grave was furnished with one group of hobnails in the area of the feet, a flagon to the right of the skull, three bronze bracelets near the skull, two silver finger-rings and two bronze rings tied together with a length of thread were next to the bracelets, as were the remains of a wooden comb and leather fragments that possibly were a spindle-whorl. All the items were inside the coffin



(Clarke 1979:45). Grave 336 (dated AD 350-370) contained a child that was buried with many objects inside the coffin. The grave furniture consisted of one silver and four bronze pins, a pottery beaker to the left of the skull, bronze wire, three sets of beads of glass and coral with bronze catches, eleven bracelets of bronze and bone, six coins, a silver finger-ring, two bronze finger-rings, a glass counter at the feet of the coffin, an iron barrel-padlock key with two bronze rings hooked through one end, and a jet spindle whorl. No other individual at Lankhills was buried with keys (Clarke 1979:71, 177).

In grave 378, an 8-year-old was buried lying on the stomach with crossed legs, without a coffin. The child had three coins under the skull and two coins just to the right of the skull, in addition to an arrowhead by the left hand. The tip of the arrow pointed towards the head of the grave, and the distance between the arrowhead and the foot of the grave was 45 cm., which would have been the maximum length of the shaft when the arrow was buried. The grave was dated AD 390-410 by the Theodosian coins, and was the only grave at Lankhills that contained an arrow (Clarke 1979:81, 177). Similar shaped spearheads and arrowheads are found in Roman and post-Roman contexts, already from the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but the ones most like this one are Saxon, dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Clarke 1979:256).

## Burials of older children and sub-adults in age group 5

Of the 18 individuals in age group 5, 11 were buried with grave furniture. As seen of *Table 11*, most of the persons from around the age of 15 could be gender determined.

Grave no.	Age	Sex	Date group	Grave furniture
1	17-20	F	2	Hobnails
6	17-20	F	2	Pottery
48	17-22	F	2	Pottery
50	16-19	F	2	Hobnails, pottery
51	17-20	M	2	Hobnails, gaming pieces of glass, ivory, and coral
100	17-20	F	2	A pile of personal ornaments, fragments of a glass bowl
117	17-20	F	3	Hobnails, a pile of personal ornaments, spindle-whorl
137	17-20	F	2	Two bracelets, coin
152	15	0	1	Hobnails, coin, iron needle
250	17-22	0	2	Hobnails, pottery, jet pin, two beads, a blue glass tessera, spindle-whorl, pewter
265	15-20	0	4	Hobnails, pottery, a bone bracelet, coin, comb
75	17-20	F	3	
87	17-20	F	3	
131	17-22	F	3	(2 shoes)

142	15-20	F	2	
179	15-20	F	2	
191	17-22	0	2	
348	Sub-adult	0	4	

**Table 11. All the graves in age group 5.**

*Table 11* shows both the graves with and without furniture for persons between 13 and 20 years, and sub-adults. Only one of these was determined by Clarke as male. The persons in this group would probably have been married, and some of the females would most likely have died in childbirth. For males, economic and political responsibility did not come until the mid twenties, but military training began about the age of 17 (Rawson 2005:138). From this age, a male would probably be buried with the same grave furniture as adult males, at least of the same rank. The categories of grave furniture in this age group are quite similar to the categories in age group 3 and 4. The only male stands out as the only person at Lankhills buried with a nearly full gaming set (*Fig. 7*). This grave (no. 51) was 110 cm. deep and the person was buried in a coffin, and had been laid on his back. Two groups of hobnails were found to the left of the feet, outside the coffin.



**Fig. 7. Glass counters, ivory die, and glass piece from grave 51. On display at Winchester Museum.**

The set of gaming pieces consisted of 15 black glass counters, 11 white glass counters, one ivory die, one semicircular glass piece, and a coral stick. They were all found by the right foot, inside the coffin. The black and white counters were inlaid with red and blue coloured glass discs. The grave had a broad date range; AD 310-370/90 (Clarke 1979:31, 252). The

counters are of a disc type that is very common on Roman sites of all periods (Clarke 1979:251). A single glass counter was found in grave 336, belonging to a child, along with a range of other grave furniture. In grave 250, the blue glass tessera might have been a game counter, or maybe an amulet (Clarke 1979:326). At the London Road cemetery in Gloucester, gaming pieces were found in an urned cremation burial that was dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The gaming set was within the cinerary urn and was the only cremation burial that was provided with grave furniture other than ceramic vessels (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:12). The urn contained the remains of two children aged 5-10 years and 10-15 years. The gaming set consisted of 43 bone and glass counters and two ivory and bone or ivory dice, and one melon bead (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:97). The set did not show any sign of burning, and has therefore been placed in the urn after the remains of the bones had been collected from the pyre (Cool 2008:105). The set could have been that of one game, or, as there were two children in the grave, there could have been two different games. The two children could have been as far apart in age as ten years, and the games played by a 5-year-old was probably less complicated than games a 15-year-old would play. They could, however, be closer in age and have played the same game (Cool 2008:107). At York, in the Holgate Bridge area, at least 20 bone counters were found in a child's grave (Clarke 1979:253). Gaming sets are rare in burials; only 26 are found pr 2008. A sub-adult aged 15-17 years was found at Pins Knoll in Dorset, buried in a crouched position. The grave was dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. He had 20 counters that had been in a bag, an iron stylus and two studs in the crook of his left arm. An adolescent female was found with a bag of 12 white, four black, and two blue glass counters at Grange Road in Winchester, as well as with eight melon beads, a finger ring, a decorated seal box lid, a bell, and a banded flint (Cool 2008:108). This burial is dated to around AD 85-95 (Clarke 1979:252). This shows that both males and females could be buried with gaming pieces.

The depth of the graves with grave furniture in this age group varied from 50 cm. (no. 265) to 150 cm. (no. 100 and no. 250; 250 being a step-grave). The shallowest grave was dated AD 390-395 while the deepest were dated AD 330-350/70. The earliest dated grave, no. 152, was 75 cm. deep and dated AD 300-330. Four of the seven graves without furniture are 100-110 cm. deep (nos. 87, 131, 142, and 191), all in the second and third date group. Grave 348 was only 20 cm. deep and was dated AD 380-410. Late graves in other age groups are both deep and shallow (see *Tables 12 and 13*). For instance, grave 364 contained a neonatal

without coffin, in a grave only 5 cm. deep, dated AD 390-410, while grave 406, also dated AD 390-410, was 83 cm. deep and belonged to an infant of 9 months. Only grave 152 is dated within the first date group, but there are variations of grave depth in the second and third date group as well, as shown in *Table 12*, which shows the number of graves from Lankhills that are used in this analysis within each date group and how deep they are. 15 graves were of uncertain depth and are therefore not shown in *Tables 12* and *13*.

Depth	Date before 315	Date 316 - 350	Date 351 - 385	Date 386 - 410	Sum
0 - 35		15 11%	5 4%	7 5%	27 21%
36 - 65		22 17%	10 8%	19 15%	51 39%
66 - 95	1 1%	18 14%	8 6%	6 5%	33 25%
96 - 125		9 7%	4 3%	1 1%	14 11%
126 ---->		4 3%	2 2%		6 5%
Sum	1 1%	68 52%	29 22%	33 25%	131 100%

**Table 12. Grave depth and date groups. The numbers are rounded off, which makes the per cents to some extent imprecise as most numbers are rounded up.**

As shown in the table, few graves in the third and fourth date group are deeper than 100 cm., nor shallower than 36 cm. There are, however, more graves from the second date group and hence more collectable data. The highest numbers of graves in all the date groups are between 36 and 65 cm. deep.

Depth	Age group 1	Age group 2	Age group 3	Age group 4	Age group 5	Sum
0 - 35	10 8%	7 5%	5 4%	4 3%	1 1%	27
36 - 65	9 7%	9 7%	22 17%	8 6%	3 2%	51
66 - 95	1 1%	5 4%	11 8%	11 8%	5 4%	33
96 - 125		2 2%	5 4%	1 1%	6 5%	14
126 ---->			1 1%	2 2%	3 2%	6
Sum	20 15%	23 18%	44 34%	26 20%	18 14%	131

**Table 13. Grave depth and age groups. The numbers are rounded off, which makes the per cents to some extent imprecise as most numbers are rounded up.**

*Table 13* shows the number of graves and their depth in each age group, and here one can see that the very young have shallower graves than the older individuals. Most of the individuals in age group 1 are buried in graves that are less than 35 cm. deep, the average in this group being 33,35 cm. The deepest grave in this group is that of a neonatal (no. 334) which is 80 cm. deep and dated AD 390-410. In the next age group, one can see an increasing number of individuals buried in deeper graves and a slight decrease in the shallowest graves. The average depth in this group is 48,17 cm., the shallowest being grave 190, of an infant, that

was damaged by top soil removal, and the deepest are grave 91, belonging to an infant of 9 months, and grave 345, belonging to a two-year-old. The latter was dated to AD 310-330 and contained no grave furniture, while grave 91, dated to AD 310-350 contained hobnails and a pottery jug. Age group 3 shows further decrease in the shallowest graves. As in age group 1 and 2, about half of the individuals are buried in graves that are between 36 and 65 cm. A higher number of the graves are deeper than 66 cm., and the average is 62,95 cm. Yet, there are some shallow graves in this group as well; grave 177 (dated AD 310-370/90), of a child of 4-5 years, is only 5 cm. deep. The deepest grave in this group is 128 cm., no. 337 (dated AD 330-350) that belonged to a three-year-old child. The grave was furnished with a glass beaker, the handle of a glass bottle, 10 bracelets, beads, and a silver finger ring. Burials of small children in shallow graves often result in the graves being disturbed, both in antiquity by continuous use of the cemetery, and in modern times by for instance agriculture. In age group 4 the average depth is 69,96 cm., the shallowest being grave 253 and the deepest being grave 268. Grave 253, dated AD 310-330, was empty, but measured to belong to a child. Grave 268 also belonged to a child, and the grave was 150 cm. deep. This grave contained two bracelets and was dated AD 350-370. In age group 5 the average depth was 91,11 cm. Two individuals were buried in graves that were 150 cm. deep, in graves 100 and 250. Both were aged 17-20/22. Grave 100 (dated AD 330-370) was enclosed by a gully and contained a glass bowl and personal ornaments. Grave 250 (dated AD 330-350) contained hobnails, 4 pottery vessels, pewter fragments, beads, a spindle whorl, and a blue glass tessera. One person in age group 5 was buried in a very shallow grave (no. 348); it was 20 cm. deep and dated AD 380-410. This sub-adult was buried without grave furniture or coffin, and had been decapitated. The head was placed to the right of the knees (Clarke 1979:73). Burials where the head has been removed from the body before burial are recorded from over seventy sites in England (Philpott 1991:77). In the Iron Age, severed heads were frequently deposited in bogs and lakes, and probably displayed at hill forts. Celtic literature shows that heads were on many occasions treated differently from the rest of body, as the head was the seat of the life force. Decapitation is also noted frequently in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Britain, and the rite is believed to have been adopted from late Roman practice by early Anglo-Saxon immigrants, but has also been noted in Germanic regions on the continent where the head appears to have been offered as a sacrifice (Philpott 1991:84). Seven graves contained decapitated skeletons at Lankhills, two of which can be described as infant and sub-adult and hence are of matter here.

The heads had been severed from the front, probably with a knife, with minimal bone damage, which could indicate that the persons were already dead (Clarke 1979:192). While the decapitated sub-adult was buried in a shallow grave, the decapitated 2-year-old infant in grave 120 (dated AD 350-370/90) was buried in a grave 90 cm. deep. The infant had been buried in a coffin, on the back, with straight legs. The head was placed above the feet, outside the coffin, while a group of hobnails was placed right of the feet inside the coffin (Clarke 1979:41). Decapitation occur most frequently among men in their early 20s or late 30s and women in their early 20s or aged 40 and above but the figures are too small to be seen as anything more than likely trends. Decapitated infants occur at Leicester, Alcester, Springhead, Sea Mills, Lankhills, Hyde Street, Poundbury Cemetery 3, and Stanground (Philpott 1991:88). At Sea Mills, Avon, girl aged 6-7 years was decapitated. Two decapitated infants were found in Temple IV at Springhead, Kent, from the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Philpott 1991:78). At Dunstable, 11 bodies were found with cuts at the neck (Alcock 2006:90).

Excavations at Winchester have shown that the character of the town changed considerably after ca AD 350. The town houses went out of use, and were in most cases demolished. New timber buildings were constructed and there were industrial activity, and given the many late 4<sup>th</sup> century burials at Lankhills the town was not abandoned, but more people might have lived outside the town and still preferred to be buried at the cemetery (Ottaway 1996:114-15). After about AD 390, fewer were buried in coffins, and less pottery was placed in the graves while glass vessels and personal ornaments appear more frequent. Some of the later graves have also been identified as foreign (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992:217).

## **The death of young virgins**

*To the spirits of the departed Opinia Neptilia, daughter of Marcus, aged 14 years. A virgin who died just before her wedding. Marcus Opinius Rufus and Gellia Neptilia her parents (CIL 3, 2875).*

According to the Roman law, boys from the age of 14 and girls from the age of 12 could marry (Rawson 1991:27), ages at which they would still be considered children in the modern Western societies. Dolls and miniature equipment are found in graves of children throughout the Roman period. No figurines that could be interpreted as a plaything were found in any of the graves at Lankhills, but one infant/child (grave 317, dated AD 390-410) was buried with

four bank voles near the feet in the coffin (Clarke 1979:65). Various pets are associated with children in art and literature, and animals were often part of children's games, either real or representations. Animals and birds were popular as pets (Rawson 2005:129), and the bank voles could have been the child's pets. Pets can play important roles in the socialization process, as children can learn responsibility by taking care of a pet. A boy at York had been buried with a small bronze mouse (Alcock 2006:90). Miniature pottery vessels were found in a small stone coffin at Binstead on the Isle of Wight, which may have been a child's toy or potter's samples (Philpott 1991:109). At the fort of Malton, an infant was buried with a jet figure of a bear interpreted as a toy, a polished jet bead, a bronze bangle, and a base *denarius* of Carcalla (dated AD 215-218), but this grave stands in clear contrast to the more than fifty other infant burials found in the fort and *vicus* which are almost all lacking in furniture (Philpott 1991:99-100).

The deaths of young girls that would never grow up to be wives and mothers are often described as particularly regretful, as there was a great ambition for the Romans to produce a family. Most of the largest collections of personal ornaments in graves are from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Many graves with collections of unworn personal ornaments are the graves of young girls or unsexed, but probably female, children. Children aged between four and twelve years, and women in their twenties were buried with a high number of items of a strong feminine association; items that are seldom found in graves of skeletally sexed male graves (Gowland 2001:161). The jewellery was either worn or collected in a group at the head or foot of the grave. Unworn ornaments were deliberately put in the grave, which might be because the dead was enshrouded and not dressed, but it was still wanted by the mourners that the dead should have ornaments in the grave. Single items of worn ornaments might have been left on the body for sentimental reasons or through carelessness, or because the dead was dressed up in its finest clothes for burial (Philpott 1991:155). J. L. Macdonald (1979:410-11) interprets unworn personal ornaments as gifts to the gods, like votive deposits of personal ornaments found in shrines and temples in Roman Britain. The votive offering of bracelets, pins, and brooches at shrines and temples was intended to bring about healing or fertility and the intention might have been transferred to grave deposits as the ritually appropriate gifts to the gods in cases of premature death through disease or childbirth. A premature death could prevent children from entering the underworld unless they brought a gift to the gods. The gifts may have been provided to ensure that the dead would not be condemned to wander but

would gain access to the underworld, which probably was the purpose of the coins increasingly provided in burials at Lankhills in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Macdonald 1979: 413). C. S. Green (1982:70) on the other hand, interprets collections of jewellery in the graves of young girls as a representation of a symbolic dowry, especially where the jewellery were placed in a box, purse or bag. The jewellery would symbolize the marriageable status of the dead girl and provide a token dowry in the afterlife. The act of marrying might be seen as a rite of passage for young girls, to some extent similar to the ceremony for boys aged around 14-16 years, when they replaced their *toga praetexta* (tunic) with the *toga virilis* (man's dress) and removed their *bulla* (a necklace worn by freeborn children) (Gowland 2001:161). This ritual could take place in a private ceremony, or on the *Liberalia*, at the 17<sup>th</sup> of March. Then the young boys and their fathers would walk to a temple early in the morning to make a sacrifice, before returning home to make a domestic sacrifice. This ceremony marked a change in the boys' relationship with the state. After this, the boys would be regarded as more responsible (Dixon 1992:102). Stefanie Martin-Kilcher (2000:63-77) has examined the grave furniture of young girls between 5 and 20 years in Western Europe dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> /early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The girls who died before they were married were often given grave furniture such as jewellery and items of costume, spindles, distaffs, and mirrors, but also dolls, miniature objects, and amulets. Some Classical texts describe how girls dedicated their amulets, toys, and dolls to the gods before their wedding, which might have been done to show that they were ready to become adults, as symbols of a completed childhood. Dolls and miniature objects have been found in pits next to temples, which strengthen this theory (Martin-Kilcher 2000:67). The spindle and distaffs were characteristic female attributes, equipment the girls would have used in their households as married women. In all, spindle whorls were found in nine graves at Lankhills. The spinning of wool was an everyday task of a woman. Spindle and distaffs are found in graves of young girls and women over a vast area and chronological range, and might be seen as symbols of womanhood in general (Martin-Kilcher 2000:65). These girls died before they were old enough to marry, or just before they would be married, and were given equipment in the graves that they would have used as married women. As the girls died before their time, *mors immatura*, they were given these objects in the grave that they would never use in life. In a society with such a strong focus on the importance of bringing forth a family, one will picture that the emphasis in the upbringing of girls was to make them ready to become wives and mothers. Children, and especially



young girls who died before they were married, could have been provided with their dolls and miniature objects in the grave if they did not live long enough to dedicate them to the gods (Martin-Kilcher 2000:69).

Some adult women are buried with keys and/or boxes that contain various objects. A single key buried with younger girls might represent their first box in which they would have put their treasures; at first broken brooches, pretty pebbles, or single beads, partly as play, and partly to begin to learn the importance of ownership and personal responsibility (Wileman 2005:85) as part of the socialization process. One key was found at Lankhills, in the richly furnished grave 336 that also contained what could have been a hair ornament (see below). Diadems are found in a few rich late Roman girls' graves that are interpreted as bridal jewellery (Martin-Kilcher 2000:70). At Lankhills, one child was found with something that could be interpreted as a headband in grave 323. The child was aged 5/6 years, buried in a grave that was 105 cm. deep. There were many objects in the coffin. On both sides of the skull were small fragments of glass and gilt-bronze shaped as scallops, and corroded to the skull were more bronze fragments. The glass and bronze were probably decorations sewn onto leather (Clarke 1979:67). This type of headband is not found in richly furnished late Roman graves, but increasingly so in Anglo-Saxon graves. At Ságvár in Hungary two graves from the 4<sup>th</sup> century were furnished with headbands of the same type as the one in grave 323, both graves belonging to children (Clarke 1979:317). In grave 336 at Lankhills, a child was found one silver pin and four bronze pins in a pile on the right side of the skull. Three sets of beads were also found in the skull area, and the pins and the beads could perhaps be explained as a hair ornament (Clarke 1979:71). At Dunstable, Bedfordshire, an infant had a bracelet on top of the head (Philpott 1991:83). All these ornaments on and around the head might have been intended as symbols of bridal decorations, as the children died before they ever got to marry in life. As the goal for a girl in the Roman society was marriage and to have children, the focus of the socialization process for girls would be in the domestic area from an early age, and this would be reflected in the grave material by domestic items. Boys should also grow up and be fathers, but their main area was outside the home with military, political, or administrative responsibilities. As these responsibilities required adults that had gone through a full socialization process, there is a possibility that the graves with no grave furniture belongs to young boys.

## Analysis

Is there a connection between biological age and stages in the socialization process, and burial customs in Roman Britain? Simon Esmonde Cleary (2000:135-136) claims that dead infants and small children were not separated from the society the same way older children and adults were, since they lacked the social and independent *persona* that would exclude them from the areas of the living because of the ritual pollution dead people caused. Death brought pollution and demanded acts of purification and rites to make sure the soul of the dead would reach the otherworld. There were a number of acts to be performed by the family before, during, and after the burial both as assurance that the dead survived in the memories of relatives, descendants, and friends, and to ensure a comfortable immortal life (Toynbee 1996:61-2). If the child was not regarded as a 'real' person because it had not gone through the full socialization process, it could be excluded from the rites, and be buried in locations otherwise seen as inappropriate for burial. As Baxter has argued (2005a:24, see above), socialization is a dialog between older, experienced members of a culture and younger members in need of cultural knowledge. Seeing that the material culture plays an important role when establishing and supporting social roles for children from an early age, the theory of socialization can be used to identify patterns in the material culture found in the graves of children at Lankhills and other Roman cemeteries in Britain. The study by Christopher Carr (1995) mentioned above show that age was a significant factor when it came to grave location, body preparation, energy expenditure, and the number of burial types. In burials some factors are linked to symbolic representations of a particular person, and some function as signifiers of social status given to a particular category of individual (Baxter 2005a:106). Rebecca Gowland writes (2001:163) that there is a possibility that the very rich graves of young children are not necessarily directly associated with the individual's social identity or rank, but could instead be linked to the sense of loss when a young child died, especially when the child was past the earliest years when the risk of death was greatest. Diversity between burials of children in different age groups can be interpreted both as the society's ideals of how to commemorate the dead and the adults' representations of the individual children. The decisions concerning a child's burial are made by adults, so the analysis of the mortuary remains reflects the thoughts and convictions by the adult members of a culture (Baxter 2005a:94). Hence, as the adults would have decided how far the dead child had progressed in the socialization process, they would have chosen the grave furniture accordingly.

Even though the inhabitants of Roman Britain came from a range of different cultures, both natives and soldiers transferred from other parts of the Empire, they lived as Roman citizens and, if not practicing *all* Roman customs, were under Roman jurisdiction. According to Classical texts, the Romans seem to have practiced age differentiation. As already demonstrated, Cicero, for example, stated that one ought not to mark the death of young children by the same mourning practises as others, something that is difficult to trace in the archaeological material, but seems to be contradicted on epitaphs. Pliny wrote that a child did not have a soul before he/she cut the first tooth, which could explain why there is little consistency in the burials of infants. As a considerable proportion of the inhumed from the early Roman period in Britain are children, it can be interpreted that infants were regarded as outside the law, and not yet full members of the society. The Twelve Table law stated that all burials had to take place outside the city walls, but infants are often found within settlements, as seen in Iron Age Latium, as well as in Roman Britain. The burials inside villas and settlements are most often found in service areas, especially in kitchens and other areas where agricultural products were processed. According to Perring (2002:198-9) Roman kitchens were normally closely associated with the household gods, fertility and prosperity sprang from this room and as the underworld held vast significance in Roman fertility ritual it might have been likely that infant graves were placed where the spirits could contribute most effectively to the prosperity and care of the living. Another possibility is that the household represented the social world of the child, which they were a part of (Gowland 2001:157), and that, as Fulgentius wrote (*Sermones Antiqui* 7), it would be kinder to keep them in their familiar surroundings. The socialization process would for the most part have been, so far in their lives, limited to the household, so many of them would be kept in the same environment after they died. However, not all infants are found in households. At the Roman temple in Kent, infants were found within the sacred enclosure. Some of them had been decapitated, and as their heads were missing, Macdonald (1979:421) suggests that their heads may have been displayed in the temple to grant strength and vitality to the building. The infant burials have been interpreted as foundation sacrifices as an infant was buried at each of four corners of a small shrine (Mays 2000:181). It has also been suggested that the shrine might have been dedicated to a healing goddess associated with childbirth like the Roman Juno Lucina or that the infants were victims of ritual infanticide (Henig 1984:24). Infanticide is the killing of newborns, and was a standard method of birth control in the Republic. The Roman father had

great power in his family. He was the *paterfamilias* and his legitimate children were in his paternal power, *patria potestas*, from birth. In the early Republic, the father was bound to rear one daughter and any healthy sons, but by the late Republic, the father had full powers to expose any newborn child at will (Dixon 1992:41). Infanticide was justified partly because of the assumption that newborn infants were not fully human, and partly because it was important to control the size and structure of the family and society (Faerman *et al.* 1998:864). According to documentary sources infanticide was practiced in classical Roman society and archaeological evidence, in the form of demographic analysis of age distributions of perinatal burials, suggests that it also took place in Britain during the Roman period (Mays 2000:184). This view is not universal, and early evidence of infanticide of a large amount at Hambledon villa, where many infant burials were found, is now interpreted as a infant cemetery in a rural community and that their deaths were natural as newborns are often at risk from diseases (Allason-Jones 2007:279). Older children are not given these types of burials, which demonstrate that there is a threshold here showing that there is a connection between biological age and burial location.

In cemeteries, as in Winchester, some infants and children are buried without any grave furniture, whilst others are buried with grave furniture. The ages at which the different thresholds become visible in the graves will most likely be related with the children's physical development. The death of a very young child could be seen as an illogical break with the normal order of things and therefore required special rites to calm angry spirits. Vergil described these spirits as amongst the unhappy dead in the underworld, caught in the marshes by the river Styx and far from the blessed fields of Elysium. They included infants that had been 'snatched from the breast, on the threshold of life and robbed of the sweetness of life, carried off by a black day and drowned in the bitterness of death' (*Aeneid* 6. 427-9) (Rawson 2005:358). The *dies lustricus*, when the child was given a name, was an important occasion because it marked a passage where the child was acknowledged in the society. This happened when the child was a little more than a week old, and there is a possibility that the neonates without grave furniture at Lankhills are children who died before they officially received a name. Only one neonate was buried with grave furniture at Lankhills; in the completely destroyed grave 463 two frontal bones from a neonate discoloured by bronze and two coins were found.

The aim of Roman marriage was to have children, and there were rituals connected to the birth, the naming of the child, and for when a boy changed his childhood clothes for the *toga*. From birth to adulthood, a child would go through a series of stages in the socialization process, and their social position in the different age stages from newborn to an age where chance of survival was more certain to adults are often reflected in the grave furniture, as the amount of grave furniture increase with the age groups. Some of the information that could have been gathered from burials is lost, as prior to the 1960s, many burials were destroyed, and richly furnished burials were prioritized. Not much attention was paid to for instance grave depth, which can suggest horizontal differentiation in a society (see below). Statements suggesting that the presence of grave furniture not necessarily implied a belief in an afterlife can be difficult to attach to the material from the Romano-British cemeteries, as several Classical texts describe rituals where the relatives give offerings at the graves during, and at different occasions after, the burial. There are also objects in the graves that can be interpreted as connected to the journey to the underworld, such as hobnails and shoes, and coins. The coins placed in graves might have been payment for Charon, the ferryman who brought the dead across the River Styx (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:139). Hobnails, shoes, and coins are found in several graves at Lankhills. The occurrence of shoes in the grave is by some seen as an expression of the belief that the dead needed shoes in the afterlife, perhaps for the journey to the underworld or for an afterlife similar to this life where shoes were needed for working and everyday activities (Macdonald 1979:407). As the shoes and hobnails are found not only at the feet, where they would have been if the deceased were dressed wearing shoes at the funeral, the shoes are likely to be symbolic, as in double burials with one pair of shoes, where the one pair would provide mobility to both the deceased. This may have been extra important when an infant died, as it perhaps was believed to have difficulty passing to the underworld. At Ridgion's Garden in Cambridge in the surrounding area of a Romano-British shrine of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century, infants are buried with hobnails and dog skeletons in a series of ritual pits. The shoes are too large for the infants and are quite certainly symbolic. Another example is found in a double cremation at Skeletal Green where an adult and an infant were buried in a single grave with two pairs of adult sized shoes (Philpott 1991:173). It is, however, uncertain why only some were buried with coins, hobnails, and shoes. Perhaps some were thought to need more help than others to reach the underworld, or perhaps the belief of an underworld was stronger amid some families than others. Why so many children at Lankhills

were buried with hobnails and none at London Road may reflect fashion, tradition, or group identity. In some places, the hobnailed shoes might have been an age related element where younger individuals wore lighter shoes without hobnails in which they were also buried, and if shoes were believed to be needed to get to the underworld, these lighter shoes might have been sufficient. Other districts, as perhaps at Lankhills, might have seen hobnailed shoes, or in some cases, just even the hobnails symbolizing shoes, in the grave as means of reaching the underworld, as the shoes were not always worn or sometimes found in pairs, and are also found in other areas within the grave than at the feet. The double grave at Lankhills, where an infant and a child were buried together, was furnished with hobnails among the toe bones of the child. This might then have been enough for both of them to get to the underworld. In these districts, both children and adults might have been thought to need the hobnails in the grave, regardless of the types of shoes worn in life. Another symbolic interpretation of the hobnails might be one connected to the socialization process. If adults wore hobnailed boots, the children could have been buried with hobnails as a symbol for the lost adult life; a life as incorporated in the Roman society which would have been the target of the adults for their children. As coins and hobnails are found in graves with individuals from all the age groups as well as in adults' graves, this cannot alone be seen as direct indicators of age differentiation, but could be interpreted as the society's social organization as reflected in the burials. Items such as hobnails could then be seen as tokens of social relationships rather than symbolic aids for reaching the underworld.

Social relationships can be imitated or verified through the burial rites. Mortuary practices, grave furniture, and rituals are decided by the living according to their belief system, worldviews, and symbolic systems. Consequently the mortuary remains do not necessarily reflect the social structure, but rather are symbolic representations of those social structures that can be interpreted, manipulated, and negotiated, and consequently be used to forge social relations one way or the other. Therefore, grave goods are the result of a series of actions by the mourners to communicate not only their relationship to the deceased but also the identity of the deceased (Parker Pearson 1999:84), which, in the case of young children, is something that might not yet have been clearly defined at the time of death. Lillehammer's (1989:90) definition of the child's world as the culture created when children interact with the environment, and culture transferred to children from adults, as well as among children, is not always apparent in the graves. During the 1990s, cemetery development became a more

important factor at archaeological excavations, as well as the distribution of furniture types. As the foundation of the archaeology of childhood had recently been laid, the age of the deceased was increasingly becoming significant to understand social organization of past societies. A young child is different from an adult because of the child's lack of experience, social interaction, and development into a full member of society; the child has not yet gone through the full socialization process, hence the social life of children is not straightforwardly reflected through the grave material. Some say children are easily recognizable in the archaeological material as the graves are smaller than adult graves. Kamp (2001) and Sofaer Derevenski (1994, 2000) have on the other hand argued that the identification of children in mortuary contexts is a complex matter, because to associate biological categories with cultural categories can reduce the chances of recognizing different roles, behaviours, and meanings connected to those categories, in addition to the material itself being difficult to obtain (Baxter 2005a:19). When children are buried with particular artefacts, or the only ones buried without them it is often interpreted as horizontal differentiation and construction of diversity between age groups. Roman children are very seldom buried with tools used by men, like an axe, but quite a few children at Lankhills were buried with similar artefacts as adult women, like personal ornaments. At times, children are buried with artefacts that are usually found in adults' graves, as for instance weapons. These artefacts are by some seen as inherited status or wealth, objects the child would have inherited as older. This view is criticized by Sofaer Derevenski (2000:6), because when objects in child graves are interpreted in a fundamentally different way to the same artefacts with adults, it denies the children to be identified as powerful in their own right. One child at Lankhills was buried with a type of weapon, an arrowhead (grave 378). No adults were buried with arrowheads, and Clarke suggests that the child in this grave belonged to a group of Saxons that had recently arrived in Winchester (Clarke 1979:256).

Children require attention and care from adults for quite some time before they are capable of taking care of themselves. During this time, they are socialized to become independent yet contributing members of the society, and they develop physically. One of the physical developments is the cutting of the first teeth. This usually happens when the child is around six months old, and this was when the child also got a soul, according to Pliny. The use of canine teeth of dogs and wolves as amulets is recorded in the Roman period by Pliny; 'a tooth tied on kept away childish terrors and ailments due to teething' (*HN* 28.78). At

Lankhills, in grave 450, two pierced canines were found along with pewter and glass fragments. Amulets of different types are often found in Roman graves. The group of pierced amulets, miniatures of crockery and tools, and other miniature objects that could be held in the hand are described as *crepundia*. The word derives from the verb *crepare*, which means to rattle or make a noise (Martin-Kilcher 2000:67). The objects normally called amulets from prehistoric graves north of the Alps, have been divided into five groups, where noise-producing objects are one of the groups. Two other groups are remarkable objects and *curiosa*, and material valued for its special properties (Pauli 1975:116-35). The canine teeth and the pewter and glass pendant from grave 450 might have been an amulet that could make noise, and the canine teeth could also have been both remarkable objects and have had special properties, if it was made of teeth from a special animal and was used against ‘childish terrors and ailments due to teething’. As this child was nine months old, it would most likely be in the process of teething. Some other amulets, *curiosa*, and pierced coins are also found buried with children in Roman Britain. The symbolic value of the amulets in the graves can be that a child that would never grow older would need the protective amulets in the afterlife as well. They would not have had the chance to go through the full process of socialization and become adults without the needs of protection one might have needed during childhood. They were provided with the objects in the grave that they perhaps would have ritually disposed of if they had lived long enough.

At Lankhills, quite a few children are buried with personal ornaments and beads. The ornaments that were worn by children could have belonged to them and been associated with them, and therefore worn at burial, but it is impossible to tell whether these objects were worn regularly or at all in life. If worn on a regular basis, they might have been worn at the time of death and simply left on for the burial. Children are commonly buried with beads, as the children in graves 323 and 333. Beads in larger collections that have probably represented complete necklaces are not common until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, although single and smaller groups of beads occur from the late 1<sup>st</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century in cremations (Philpott 1991:130). In some cremations there are only one or two beads, often not matching, that are placed on or among the bones in the urn. This may represent a token offering removed from a necklace or bracelet to be put in the burial as a symbol of the whole. The string of beads would not be damaged by the removal of one bead and could be kept as a memento to the family of the dead (Philpott 1991:130). Others have seen the motive for deposition of single beads or small



groups in graves as an attempt to avert the evil eye (Guido 1979:293), particularly with children who were regarded as especially vulnerable to evil (Meaney 1981:8). The coin found in the right eye-socket of the child in grave 164 could also have been meant to ward off the evil eye (Macdonald 1979:409), as could the red potsherd in the left eye-socket of the 6-year-old child in grave 122. The personal ornaments, either worn or unworn, could have been symbolic expressions of childhood, but this is rather unlikely as they are also found both worn and unworn in adults' graves. It might have been tokens of social status; that some of the children were of families of higher social status than others. Through the socialization process, these children would realize the ideals of a higher social status, but, if they died, this would have to be expressed through the grave furniture instead. Also gender roles are taught through the process of socialization during childhood, and the bracelets, beads, and necklaces, which Clarke classifies as feminine (1979:152), can have been implements through which gender roles and identity were taught. More children are buried with personal ornaments in age group 3 than 2, and assuming that girls were buried with bracelets and necklaces, gender roles were being taught already from infancy, perhaps from the time of weaning, when the child started to use words, or could stand upright alone. The process of socialize girls to become good wives and mothers seems, according to the grave furniture, to increase from the age of three. In addition to bracelets and necklaces, combs, finger rings, an iron needle, and a bone pin are also among the grave furniture in age group 3. These items show that the individuals in these graves were in a stage in childhood that was marked differently from younger individuals, and more similar to adult women.

Combs, finger rings, and pins are also among the grave furniture in age group 4, in addition to at least one spindle whorl. Girls in this age group would be approaching the age at which they would marry, and young girls who died before that were often given jewellery and household objects in the grave, as can be seen in some of the Lankhills burials. The graves with no furniture, and the ones with only hobnails could then belong to young boys who had yet to go through the ceremony where they replaced their *toga praetexta* with the *toga virilis* and removed their *bullae*. This ceremony was a sign of an important change in the boys' lives, as they now would be regarded as more responsible. Whether this stage is marked by a change in the grave furniture is difficult to say, as only one person relevant for this study is determined as male (grave 51). He was the only one buried with a full gaming set. There is a chance that some of the males that are aged as adults by Clarke, and hence not included in this

analysis, are in fact younger individuals with grave furniture that would have been distinctly different from young females' graves. Some adult males are for example buried with crossbow brooches, buckles, belt-fittings, knives, strike-a-lights, and whetstones. These objects are, with only one possible exception (grave 185), not found in graves of children. In grave 185, a bronze object was found that could have been a belt fastening. This grave was of a child aged around four years, and the grave also contained hobnails and a pottery flagon. Some adult males are buried with only hobnails, coins, and/or pottery vessels, as are several of the children. Nine children are buried with only hobnails, six with only pottery, six with only coins, six with hobnails and pottery, and one with hobnails, pottery, and coins. Pottery vessels are the most common type of grave furniture in the Roman period, and appear in the graves of both children and adults. There are regional differences in the use of pottery vessels in graves, as at Lankhills graves could contain up to five vessels and at the London Road cemetery the graves were furnished with only one each. As seen in *Table 7*, the vessels in age group 3 are placed at the head or feet inside or outside the coffin where this is the only grave furniture and these are the most common positions of vessels at Lankhills in graves with or without other types of grave furniture. There are some exceptions, as in the before mentioned grave 185 with the possible belt fastening, where a pottery flagon was placed by the right knee; in grave 265 (15/20 years) where a pottery flagon was placed to the right of the hips; and in grave 327 (3-7 years) where a bowl was inverted over the pelvis. The latter could have fallen from above the coffin. The vessels could have contained food or drink, or they could have been symbols of the food and drink. There is no clear visible pattern to be distinguished regarding the type of pottery, the location of pottery in the graves, and the age groups. Adults and children, males and females are buried with pottery of different types and the vessels are placed mostly at the head or foot of the graves. A considerable amount of beakers and flagons are found within age group 3, however, and only two graves in age group 2 contained pottery vessels. No pottery was found within age group 1. A similar pattern can be seen in *Table 9*, with the number of glass vessels in the graves. Items of glass seem to have been rare, and the individuals who were buried with glass might have been unique in some way, or part of a social group who received special grave furniture. There are no glass vessels within age groups 1 and 2, and six out of nine are found within age group 3. The reason for this pattern could be that there are more burials in age group 3 than the other age groups, hence the relative high number of graves with furniture. There are several possible reasons for the high

number of dead children in age group 3; errors done when the age was calculated, or the large span between the youngest and the oldest individual within the group, but it can also be related to the socialization process. In addition to having most likely grown all their milk teeth, children from around the age of two and a half years are more active outside the household as they become less and less independent of constant adult care. If one estimates the age of those described by Clarke as infant/child to be around four years old, the average age in age group 3 is four and a half years. These children would have been more out and about, meeting other children and adults, and been prone to catch diseases from others or get hurt whilst playing. Interaction with other children is an important part of the socialization process, and would most likely have been encouraged in the Roman society.

Objects associated with play or games are sometimes found in Roman graves. The gaming set in the cremation burial at London Road were interpreted as a possible way to soothe the spirits of the children that had died before their time, especially if the set was a loved possession of one or both of the children (Simmonds *et al.* 2008:138). Gaming sets, figurines, dolls, and miniature objects can be explained as simple playthings for the child in the afterlife, representations of childhood, gifts to the dead, or things the child played with while still alive. As part of the socialization process things like these could have been ritually disposed off as the child reached an age at which he or she was considered an adult. If the child died before it had gone through some form of this ritual, the objects could have been placed in the graves as tokens of a childhood that would never reach the next stage.

Grave depth can be a sign of the social status of an individual, as it can reflect the amount of care and work invested when making the grave. Ucko's studies (1969:270) showed that wealth and/or status may be reflected in the contents, location, form, or size of the grave, and that a society would carry out several different forms of burial that often would correlate with the status of the deceased. Tainter concluded that the social rank of individuals correlated with the degree of energy spent on mortuary rites in 90 per cent of the cases, while it was marked by grave furniture in less than five per cent of the cases (Parker Pearson 1999:31). According to the numbers in *Table 13*, the depth of the graves seems to relate to the age of the dead individual, although some in each age group are buried in shallow graves. Those who are buried in graves that are fairly close to the average depth in each age groups can be seen as buried according to the stages in the socialization process, which seems to correspond with teething. For children less than a year old, who do not yet have a full set of milk teeth, there

was no formal mourning according to the Roman laws. These children are often buried in shallow graves that could easily be disturbed by animals or the making of other graves. For children in age group 3 there would have been a short time of formal mourning, and these children would have had cut all the milk teeth. The older the children the deeper the graves, and from the age of ten the child could be mourned as an adult. These rules might have been more relevant for people with public responsibilities, but these would have been people who could afford to put up epitaphs and commemorative altars, which bear inscriptions that show that also very young children were deeply mourned.

In each age group there are individuals with either deeper or shallower graves than the average. These might have been special in a positive or negative way and therefore received special burial treatment. At Lankhills, seven people had been decapitated. One of these was a two-year-old and one was a sub-adult. Clarke writes that, as there is no evidence for this being related to their age or sex, nor connected to any disease or illness, status may well be the explanation. Clarke interprets the decapitations as possible sacrifices as they all were found in association with graves that were military, rich, or ritually unusual. The decapitations were carefully done, the heads precisely severed between the third and fourth vertebrae, in a possible sacrificial ritual that took place as part of the funerary rite of the associated burials (Clarke 1979:193). Fear that the dead might disturb or haunt the living is frequently cited as the motive for decapitation. Infants and small children were believed to have more difficulties in reaching the underworld than adults, and this could be a reason for them to be decapitated after death. On the other hand, decapitated children and infants very rarely occur in Roman Britain, so it was probably not a widespread rite even though the decay of soft infant bones may sometimes make it impossible to recognize decapitation. Clarke (1979:417) concludes in his discussion of the decapitated burials of Lankhills that they were sacrificial victims, who could have been criminals, slaves, old women or children; anyone who was not highly valued. Philpott (1991:79-80) on the other hand, argues that the overall evidence shows that those decapitated reflect the normal life expectancy for the Roman period rather than being sacrificial victims. With the exception of a very low total of infants and children, there is no reason from the age and sex to conclude that those decapitated were other than those who died of natural causes. They might have been decapitated after death to show that they were criminal or had done something dishonourable, but children and infants are not likely to have been executed as criminals. A ritual explanation, like that the rite was believed to have an

effect on the deceased in the afterlife or to show respect for the head as the seat of the soul, could be more probable (Philpott 1991:84-5). Some of the decapitated are buried in coffins and with grave goods, and the care with which many of the burials were laid out may point towards that the rite was not necessarily dishonourable. Decapitation after death could also have been done to ensure that the spirit stayed in the underworld, as could the burials where the dead is placed face down in the grave, like the 8-year-old in grave 378. An infant of about 6 months in grave 458 was also buried face down. There was no coffin in either grave. The infant had no grave furniture, while the child had been buried with an arrowhead. At Lankhills, people were generally buried on their back until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. From then on, a considerable number began to be buried on their side, or face down. Their legs were generally straight, but in some cases from about AD 400, the legs were bent or crossed. The heads lay either facing upwards or to one side. Children were often buried with the head to the right (Clarke 1979:353). As this is not an overall occurrence, in addition to the fact that many of the skulls of infants and children were not well preserved, it cannot be characterized as a clear age differentiation.

The Romans did distinguish between children and adults and between the different stages of childhood for civic, legal, and ritual reasons. The treatment of dead infants and children, how to act when a child died, the form and location of the burials, and for how long to mourn seem to correspond more or less with teething, as do the socialization process, which divided the period of childhood into stages. Although there are exceptions within each age group, the burial customs for children are increasingly similar to those of adults as the ages of the children increase.

## **Concluding comments**

By studying children through mortuary remains one do not get to see the child's life, but rather a manipulated childhood staged by adults. Young children have not automatically achieved status on their own even though they are richly furnished at death, nor are they likely to have been uncared for if they are buried without any furnishing. The archaeological material from burials does not always reflect the individuals' social status as the mourners in some cases might have buried an individual with objects they wanted the individual to have rather than objects that really reflected the individual's role in the society. The material culture of the dead children is what the living adults make it. Mortuary remains can,

nevertheless, show the ideological roles of different age groups within a society as determined by the adults. The socialization process teaches children the skills and behaviours they need to function as full members of a society, as well as gender roles, ethnicity, and status. There is evidence of infants and children being treated differently than adults in death, but there are also similarities that imply that they were not completely separated from the rest of society as they from an early age would have been socialized to fit into the roles they would have as adult Romans. The categories and material of the objects used as furnishing in child burials are similar to those in adult burials, which might indicate that there was a relation between children and adults, namely that the child should preferably grow up to become an adult. There were differences between adults and children, as seen for example in epitaphs, and in the laws about mourning, because children had not yet been through the complete socialization process, but because girls should ideally grow up to become wives and mothers they were given similar items as grave furniture as were given older females, from the age when they were considered fully human. Because boys would have different roles as adults, they might have been given less or no grave furniture, at least until the age when they replaced their tunic with the toga.

According to the graves at Lankhills, there seem to be two main age differentiations in the grave furnishing. The first threshold is between the young infants in age group 1 and 2, and the slightly older children in age group 3. According to Classical texts, infants were not fully human, and although there are a number of different burials of infants in Roman Britain, and many of them are neither carelessly made nor without furniture, there seems to be stages in childhood that correspond with teething, as well as the ability to walk, talk, and interact with other children and grown-ups. The next threshold is vaguer, but seems to have been around the early or pre teens. At this age, girls would reach puberty and boys would go through the ritual of shifting the *toga* at 14-16 years. Around the same time they could legally marry. At around ten years, children could be mourned as adults, and some are buried with items such as spindle-whorls, head decoration, and key, that indicate that they were young virgins who never were to step out of childhood and into adulthood as married women. The arena for boys as grown-up men would have been outside the house, in public, but the material does not represent these public duties. One can therefore presume that many of the graves with no grave furniture or those with hobnails, pottery vessels, and/or coins belong to young boys.

By advanced research on skeletons and graves of children in Roman Britain, one could get a more detailed picture of Roman childhood outside the centre of the Empire, and hence get a further understanding of life in the provinces as it was for the children of those Romans who ended up far away from Rome or their country of origin. One would then be able to see to what extent the Roman laws were followed, and maybe even more of the world of children from the children's point of view.

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## Catalogue of the graves at Lankhills used in the study

Grave no.	Description
G 1	Female, 17-20 years. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, area of feet, in coffin? Dated AD 310-370/90.
G 2	Child, 2/3 years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, area of feet. Pottery flagon, left of feet, outside coffin? Dated AD 310-350.
G 3	Child, c. 6 years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Two pottery beakers, right and left of skull, both in coffin? Dated AD 320-350.
G 6	Female, 17-20 years. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Pottery beaker, left of skull in coffin. Dated AD 320-330.
G 12	Child. Grave depth 50 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, area of feet, in coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
G 34	Infant, c. 2 years. Grave depth 30 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.
G 40	Infant/child. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. A necklace, a glass fragment, four bracelets, a pewter bowl. The necklace was at the head end of the grave, probably worn at burial. Glass fragments among the beads from the necklace. Three bracelets (bronze, bone, iron) around the bones of the left arm. Fourth bracelet (bronze) around right arm. Pewter bowl inside coffin near right foot. Dated AD 350-370/90.
G 41	Child. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
G 42	Child, c. 3 years. Grave depth 40 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
G 44	Child, around 2 years. Grave depth uncertain. Coffin. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-350/70.
G 46	Child, 8/9 years. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, area of feet. Charcoal dust above right ribs and pelvis. Dated AD 310-370/90.
G 48	Female? 17/22 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. 2 shoes? Over feet, in coffin. Pottery jug, left of skull, in coffin. Dated AD 310-350.
G 50	Female? 16/19 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, 2 groups, 1 by each foot, outside coffin. Pottery flagon, right of feet, outside coffin? Dated AD 330-350.
G 51	Male, 17/20 years. Grave depth 110 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, 2 groups, left of feet, outside coffin. Set of gaming pieces, by right foot, inside coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.

- G 57 Child, c. 9 years. Grave depth 65 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-360.
- G 65 Neonatal. Grave depth 40 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 310-350/70.
- G 71 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Pottery jar, right of skull, outside coffin? Many coffin nails, exact number unknown. Dated AD 330-350.
- G 75 Female?, 17/20 years. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 84 Child, 2/3 years. Grave depth 30 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 85 Child, 3/5 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, left of feet, in coffin. 2 shale bracelets, on ribcage. Dated AD 350-370.
- G 87 Female, 17/20 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 370/80-390.
- G 90 Child, c. 9 years. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-350/70.
- G 91 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, left of feet, outside coffin. Pottery jug, left of feet, outside coffin. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 92 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 30 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 100 Female, 17/20 years. Grave depth 150 cm. Coffin. Black dust around bones. No grave-goods associated with the skeleton, but a pile of personal ornaments in the fill of the grave: 3 bronze bracelets, an iron bracelet, a jet bracelet, 2 ivory bracelets, 2 bone bracelets, many beads, a jet pin, a glass pin, the head of a second glass pin, some fragments of a glass bowl. The bracelets had been placed together on the edge, in an upright position. The beads and the pins were among them, with the glass fragments to one side. The pile lay towards the east end of the grave. Dated AD 330-370.
- G 102 Infant/child. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, area of skull, outside coffin? Bone pin, area of feet, in coffin? Dated AD 350-370.
- G 105 Infant, c. 1 year. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. A beaker and two bracelets. Beaker outside head end of coffin. Smashed when found, possible breakage at burial. Shale bracelet by right knee, inside coffin, iron bracelet near left hip. Dated AD 310-330.
- G 108 Neonatal. Grave depth 15 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 113 Child, 2/3 years. Grave depth 110 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 117 Female, 17/20 years. Grave depth 130 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, one group, left of feet, outside coffin. A bone spindle-whorl and a pile of personal ornaments. Spindle-whorl just outside the bottom left-hand corner of the coffin. Personal ornaments by the left hip, inside coffin; 5 bronze bracelets, 2 ivory bracelets, 2 finger-rings (iron, bronze), a collection on beads. Dated AD 350-370.

- G 120 Infant, c. 2 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Decapitated; skull placed above feet, outside coffin. Hobnails present, one group right of feet, in coffin. Dated AD 350-370/90.
- G 121 Neonatal. Grave depth 53 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 122 Child, c. 6 years. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. 8 stones/tiles over and around coffin. 5 bracelets; 3 bronze and 2 bone, in coffin on or near left hip in two interlocking piles. Red potsherd in left eye socket. Dated AD 350-370.
- G 131 Female? 17/22 years. Grave depth 110 cm. Coffin. 2 shoes, beyond feet, in coffin. Dated AD 350-370/90.
- G 132 Child, c. 3 years. Grave depth 50 cm. Coffin. Pottery beaker, left of feet, in coffin, broken at burial? Dated AD 320-350.
- G 134 Child, c. 8 years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, at feet. 2 shoes, area of feet, in coffin. 4 bracelets and a pottery bowl, all inside coffin. Bowl at feet, placed between the hobnails and the end of the coffin. An iron bracelet near right shoulder, a bone, a shale and an iron bracelets very near head. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 136 Child, c. 8 years. Grave depth 55 cm. Coffin. A glass cup and a pottery jug; both on their side, right of skull, in coffin. Dated AD 340-370/90.
- G 137 Female, 17/20 years. Grave depth 95, step grave. Coffin. A coin; corroded to the mandible, would originally have been placed on or in mouth. 2 bracelets, bronze and bone, in a pile left of skull inside coffin. Dated AD 330-370.
- G 142 Female? 15/20 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 370-390.
- G 144 Neonatal. Grave depth 25 cm. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 147 Child, c. 11 years. Grave depth uncertain. Coffin. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 148 Infant/child. Grave depth 94 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 152 Sub-adult, c. 15 years. Grave depth 75 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, 2 groups; at left foot and between knees. A coin dated AD 286-293, by left lower leg in coffin, an iron needle on left shoulder. Dated AD 300-330.
- G 153 Child. Grave depth 40 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 154 Child, 2/3 years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 155 Child, 9/10 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, one group, area of feet, in coffin. A flagon, whose handle had been broken off in antiquity, to the right of

- the skull. 3 bronze bracelets leant against the left side of the skull. 2 silver rings and 2 bronze rings were in a pile next to the bracelets, tied together with a length of thread. Also near the bracelets were the remains of a wooden comb and a leather fragment; possibly a much decayed spindle-whorl. Dated AD 310-350/70.
- G 156 Child. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; 2 groups, beyond feet, in coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 157 Child. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 162 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 164 Child, c. 7 years. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Bronze coin (dated AD 330-341) in right eye-socket (which was discoloured). Dated AD 330-370.
- G 169 Child, c. 4 years. Grave depth 40 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 172 Child. Grave depth 70 cm, step-grave. Coffin. Hobnails present, left of feet, outside coffin. A coin (dated AD 307-309), inside coffin, right of hips. Pottery bowl outside coffin, bottom left hand corner of the grave. Dated AD 310-330.
- G 173 Infant. Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 174 Infant, c. 2 years. Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 177 Child, 4/5 years. Grave depth 5 cm. Coffin. Packing; 2 placed alongside coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 178 Child, 4/8 years. Grave depth 25 cm. Coffin. Pottery flagon, right of feet, in coffin? Dated AD 310-350.
- G 179 Female, 15/20 years. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 183 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 65 cm. Coffin. 14 bracelets (9 bronze, 2 ivory, 2 bone, 1 shale), lying horizontally, in a single pile. 2 sets of beads, 1 with a bronze fastening and bronze-wire links, the other with beads alone. All found right of knees, inside coffin. Dated AD 350-370.
- G 184 Child, c. 4 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, outside foot of coffin. Iron needle, outside head of coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 185 Child, c. 4 years. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present, right of feet, in coffin. A pottery flagon on its side, by the right knee, inside coffin. Bronze object among hobnails, right of feet, inside coffin. Strap-fitting/belt-fastening? Unusually wide pit. Dated AD 310-370.

- G 188 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 100 cm, step-grave. Coffin. Hobnails present, one group among toe bones. A pottery flagon outside coffin, foot of grave, on the same level as the step. 7 bronze objects; 2 bracelets and a finger-ring near the left hand. Another ring under the neck. A bracelet lay between the lower legs, and one bracelet and a ring lay over the right foot. Beads scattered by the lower right leg. Dated AD 310-370.
- G 189 Child, c. 11 years. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-370.
- G 190 Infant. Grave depth 5 cm. Coffin. Damaged by top-soil removal. Date AD 310-370/90.
- G 191 Sub-adult, 17/22 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 195 Child. Grave depth 43 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group, area of feet, in coffin. One pottery jar and one pottery bowl, both in coffin, at foot. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 197 Infant, c. 2 years. Grave depth 58 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 202 Infant/child. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 205 Child. Grave depth 35 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-350/70.
- G 206 Infant/child. Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 207 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth uncertain. Coffin. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-350.
- G 210 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; left of skull, outside coffin? Pottery flagon and pottery beaker outside foot of coffin. Dated AD 320-350.
- G 213 Infant, 18 months? Grave depth 53 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 224 Child, 9/10 years. Grave depth 95 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group left of feet, in coffin. A pottery beaker, left of skull, inside coffin. Dated AD 310-340.
- G 236 Child. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Packing; one? Over skull. A glass flask and a pottery beaker, both outside coffin, near feet? Dated AD 340-370/90.
- G 238 Infant/child, c. 2 ½ years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; area of feet, in coffin. 2 bronze, 2 bone bracelets in the area of the hips. Dated AD 350-370.
- G 240 Child, 5-8 years. Grave depth 95 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; area of feet, in coffin? Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 242 Infant. Grave depth 50 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.
- G 247 Infant, c. 2 years? Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin, empty grave. Dated AD 310-330.
- G 250 Sub-adult, 17/22 years. Grave depth 150, step-grave. Coffin. Hobnails present; scattered around the grave-furniture. 4 pottery vessels and several other objects were found between the foot of the coffin and the end of the grave-pit. 2 pottery bowls had been inverted and placed 0.4 m beyond the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin, one

over the other. A pottery jar and a pottery flagon at end of the coffin. The jar was inverted and near to it lay a jet pin. Between the jar and the flagon were some pewter fragments and 2 beads. On the left side of the grave were a shale spindle-whorl and a blue glass tessera. Also outside the foot of the coffin, and clearly not part of it, were six iron nails with wood traces corroded to them. Could be the remains of a wooden box that would have contained the spindle-whorl, the tessera, the pin, the hobnails, and perhaps the beads. 8 strip-angle coffin-fittings. Dated AD 330-350.

G 251 Child. Grave depth 20 cm. Coffin, empty grave. Dated AD 310-330.

G 253 Child. Grave depth 5 cm. No bones or coffin nails found. Dated AD 310-330.

G 257 Child, 3/6 years. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 330-370/90.

G 259 Neonatal. Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 330-350.

G 262 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.

G 265 Sub-adult, 15/20 years. Grave depth 50 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group among toe bones. A coin (dated AD 388-402) on or near the right shoulder. A flagon and a comb were to the right of the hips, the flagon on its side. A bone bracelet with bronze fitting to the left of the feet. Dated AD 390-395.

G 268 Child. Grave depth 150 cm. Coffin. A bronze and a bone bracelet in pile at west end of grave. Dated AD 350-370.

G 269 Child. Grave depth 140 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group among toe bones. Dated AD 310-360.

G 271 Neonatal. Grave depth 15 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 310-370/90.

G 276 Child. Grave depth 50 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; 2 groups? Left of legs, in coffin? A bone pin, left of skull, in coffin? Dated AD 330-370.

G 279 Child, c. 7 years. Grave depth and coffin uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-360.

G 280 Infant/child. Grave depth 58 cm. Coffin. Packing; level with top of coffin. Iron fragments (nails?) on hips and chest. Dated AD 390-410.

G 282 Infant/child. Grave depth 48 cm. Coffin. Packing; 3 around coffin. Dated AD 390-410.

G 284 Infant, c. 18 months. Grave depth 51 cm. Coffin. Packing; many, all around coffin, including two tiles. Dated AD 390-410.

G 285 Infant, c. 18 months. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 390-410.

- G 289 Infant, c. 12 months. Grave depth 48 cm. No coffin. Three bronze coins (dated AD 388-402, AD 330-341, AD 364-378) on or in mouth (teeth and mandible discoloured). Dated AD 390-410.
- G 290 Child, c. 4 years. Grave depth 77 cm. Coffin. Packing; 6, around and over coffin. Fragmentary bone comb, left of skull. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 292 Neonatal. Grave depth and coffin uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 390-400.
- G 294 Child, c. 6 years. Grave depth 56 cm. Coffin uncertain. Hobnails present; among toe bones (of child). Double grave. An infant on the child's left side. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 294 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 56 cm. Coffin uncertain. Double grave. Buried side by side with a child. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 298 Child, c. 3 years. Grave depth 42 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 311 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 38 cm. Coffin uncertain. Packing; 5 on each side. Dated AD 370-410.
- G 317 Infant/child. Grave depth 52 cm. Coffin. Packing; 2, at head of grave. Hobnails present, one group, right of feet, outside coffin? 4 bank voles, near feet, in coffin? Dated AD 390-410.
- G 318 Infant, c. 3 months. Grave depth 44 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 370-410.
- G 321 Child. Grave depth 90 cm. Coffin. Destroyed grave. Size indicated that the grave belonged to a child. In fill of G 322 were a bronze coin and bracelet, potsherds, and human bones, including a lower arm and finger discoloured by bronze, which may have belonged to G 321. No skull found. Dated AD 350-370.
- G 323 Child, 5/6 years. Grave depth 105 cm. Coffin. Many objects, all inside coffin. A bronze pin along the left side of the skull, the upper end near the frontal bones. On either side of the skull were found small fragments of glass and gilt-bronze. The skull was discoloured above the orbits, and corroded to it were more of the bronze fragments. The position and character of these suggests decoration sewn to a headband; traces corroded to the bronze show that this would probably have been leather. A quantity of beads lay in the neck area, 15 large and irregular, the others smaller and simpler. The distribution of the types suggests two necklaces. A single bronze bracelet in the area of the right hand. Round the left wrist were 9 bracelets, arranged from the hand upwards: bronze, shale, iron, bronze, bronze, bronze, iron, bronze, bone with a bronze fitting. Enclosed by the bracelets was some leather that



formed a cylinder around what remained of the wrist. Textile remains preserved around an iron bracelet. 2 pottery beakers were found in the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin. Many sherds of pottery were found in the filling of the grave, among them a substantial part of a large bowl. Part of a small mound was preserved over G 323, and several further objects were discovered around this. 3 coins (dated AD 330-341, AD 350-364) lay together in a turf layer along its south edge. Their location and position suggest that they were a deliberate deposit; a surface-offering related to G 323. At the head of the grave stood a pottery flagon, whose base seemed set in the ground. Although broken, almost all of it was recovered; it, too, seems to have been deliberately deposited. Close to it were body-sherds from another, larger, flagon which may also have been a surface-offering. 2 further coins, found in the general area of G 323, may have been associated with this grave. Dated AD 350-370.

G 324 Infant. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 370-410.

G 327 Child, 3-7 years. Grave depth 63 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group, area of feet, in coffin. A bowl inverted over the pelvis, uncertain whether this was its original position or whether it had fallen there from above the coffin. A pile of 6 bracelets (4 bronze, 2 bone) was on or near the left side of the chest. Sherds of a flanged bowl were found in the fill of the grave, which were probably on the surface when it was dug. Dated AD 350-370.

G 333 Child, c. 3 ½ years. Grave depth 83 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group, right of feet, in coffin. A bone comb against the left side of the skull. A quantity of beads, found under the skull and extending as far as the hands, presumably belonged to a large necklace. 3 bracelets on the left hand side of the body (2 bronze, 1 ivory), which, since they were associated with an arm bone fragment, were probably worn at burial. A glass jug lay by the left foot and a pottery beaker by the right foot. Dated AD 390-410.

G 334 Neonatal. Grave depth 80 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 390-410.

G 336 Child. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Many objects, all inside coffin. 5 pins in a pile on the right side of the skull (1 silver, 4 bronze); these could have fastened the hair or a head-dress. To the left of the skull was a pottery beaker. Near the pot was a small length of bronze wire of uncertain function, but possibly part of a bracelet. 3 sets of beads in the area of the skull. One consisted of large and irregular beads, another of

small and more uniform glass beads, and the third of coral beads. 2 of the sets were arranged in a small circle (diameter app. 100 mm), and could have been 2 necklaces placed one above the other. The coral beads were scattered over the western part of the area enclosed by the other groups of beads, and could perhaps be explained as a hair ornament. Associated with the sets of beads were 2 bronze catches, textile remains corroded to the larger. Round the lower right arm was a bronze bracelet, 2 coins (dated AD 350-364) leaning against the right side of the same wrist. 10 bracelets encircled the lower left arm, arranged from the hand up in the following order: bronze, 2 bone, 2 bronze, 2 bone, 3 bronze. Among the finger-bones among the left hand were 2 coins (dated AD 350-364) and a silver finger-ring. In a pile to the left of the feet were 2 coins (dated AD 310-341), 2 finger-rings, and a collection of beads, possibly a bracelet. In the centre, at the feet of the coffin, was a single glass counter. A second pile of objects lay to the right of the feet. On top was a jet spindle-whorl, and below lay an iron barrel-padlock key, hooked through one end of which were 2 bronze rings. Around these objects were preserved organic materials, including leather remains, probably from a pouch in which the objects would have been. Dated AD 350-370.

G 337 Child, c. 3 years. Grave depth 128 cm., step-grave. Coffin. A glass beaker to the right of the skull, outside coffin. Broken when found; position of the pieces suggests breakage at burial. In a pile near the knees were 4 bracelets (3 bone, 1 shale). Another pile consisted of 3 bracelets (bone, shale, bronze), and a third pile was made up of 2 bracelets (bone), a silver finger-ring, and the handle of a glass bottle. A further bone bracelet could not be assigned to any pile. Beads were scattered among the bracelets, probably belonged to a necklace. Dated AD 330-350.

G 341 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 25 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-350/70.

G 345 Infant, c. 2 years. Grave depth 100 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 310-330.

G 346 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 55 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 330-390.

G 348 Sub-adult. Grave depth 20 cm. Decapitated. Head placed to the right of the knees. Dated AD 380-410.

G 354 Infant. Grave depth 55 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 400-410.

G 364 Neonatal. Grave depth 5 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 390-410.

G 370 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 45 cm. Coffin. One bronze coin (dated AD 364-375) in or near left hand. Dated AD 370-390.

- G 371 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 23 cm. Coffin. Packing; 7, around coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 372 Child, c. 3 years. Grave depth 98 cm. Coffin. Bronze coin (dated AD 388-402) in or near mouth. Dated AD 400-410.
- G 377 Child, c. 10 years. Grave depth 57 cm. Coffin uncertain. Hobnails present; one group among toe bones. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 378 Child, c. 8 years. Grave depth 33 cm. No coffin. Three coins (dated AD 388-402, AD 350-364) were under (i.e. in front of) the skull, and two others just to the right. An arrowhead by the left hand, its point towards the head of the grave. The distance between the arrowhead and the foot of the grave was 0.45 m, and this will have been the maximum length of the shaft when the arrow was buried. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 382 Child, c. 8 years. Grave depth 73 cm. Coffin. Bronze coin in mouth (teeth discoloured). Dated AD 390-410.
- G 383 Child, c. 7 years. Grave depth 36 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 384 Child, c. 7 years. Grave depth 40 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 385 Child, 5-7 years. Grave depth 35 cm. Coffin. Glass flask, left of feet, in coffin? Dated AD 370-410.
- G 390 Infant/child. Grave depth 60 cm. Coffin. Hobnails present; one group, area of feet, in coffin. Glass cup, right of skull, in coffin. Dated AD 370-410.
- G 391 Neonatal. Grave depth 10 cm. No coffin. Intact pit, 0.80 m long, and 0.30 m wide. At the bottom of the pit, lying together at the west end, were found some ribs and vertebrae and a tooth, all belonging to a new-born child, well preserved, and there can be little doubt that had arms, legs, and a skull been present, they would have survived. As there was no trace of them, it may be concluded that this grave contained only a part of a new-born child. The circumstances are uncertain. Dated AD 370-410.
- G 406 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 83 cm. Coffin. Packing; 6, along sides of coffin. Iron fragment in fill. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 409 Child, 8/9 years. Grave depth 53 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 419 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 10 cm. Coffin uncertain. Dated AD 330-370/90.
- G 424 Child, c. 5 years. Grave depth 40 cm. Coffin. Dated AD 390-410.
- G 450 Infant, c. 9 months. Grave depth 10 cm? Coffin. Two pierced canines, almost certainly pendants, lay to the left of the feet, inside the coffin, as well as pewter and glass

fragments. The glass fragments lay in the midst of the pewter, only a very small amount of which was present. Probably the pewter and the glass were the remains of a third pendant; a pewter disc with a glass centre-piece. Dated AD 390-410.

G 452 Neonatal. Grave depth 45 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 340-350.

G 456 Child, c. 7 years. Grave depth uncertain. Coffin. Dated AD 350-390.

G 457 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 50 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 340-350.

G 458 Infant, c. 6 months. Grave depth 53 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 340-350.

G 459 Neonatal. Grave depth 10 cm. No coffin. Dated AD 360-410.

G 460 Neonatal. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 340-390.

G 462 Neonatal. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Coffin. Dated AD 310-350/70.

G 463 Neonatal. Grave depth uncertain. Grave completely destroyed. It had belonged to a new-born infant and of the skeleton only two frontal bones remained, both discoloured by bronze. In the fill of G 324 were two coins (dated AD 350-364) which were no doubt originally on the forehead of the dead child. The same could be true of a third coin, found in the area of G 324 during surface cleaning. Dated AD 350-370.

G 469 Neonatal. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-330.

G 470 Neonatal. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-330/50.

G 471 Child, 5-8 years. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-340.

G 472 Child, 4/5 years. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 310-360.

G 473 Infant, c. 18 months. Grave depth uncertain. Destroyed grave. Dated AD 340-350.

G 38 Male? 25/30 years. Grave depth 135 cm, step-grave. Coffin. Glass bottle and pottery flagon outside head of coffin. Premature baby outside foot of coffin. Dated AD 310-350.

G 79 Adult female. Grave depth 70 cm. Coffin. Pottery flagon right of shoulder, in coffin. Newborn infant, with its skull to right, at feet, in coffin. Dated AD 310-350.